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ABSTRACT

The aim of the research reported here was to describe dialect diversity in Appalachia (Monroe and Mercer Counties, West Virginia) and to examine the possible effect of this diversity on education. The present volume contains the first two parts of the report, the third being submitted separately. The first part includes chapters 1-5, the second 6-9. Chapter 1 sets forth the sociocultural setting for the study, while chapter 2 establishes a sociolinguistic framework for viewing the linguistic diversity of the region. Chapters 3 and 4 outline the main features of Appalachian English, focusing on phonological and grammatical levels of language organization. Educational considerations are discussed in chapter 5. Part One is intended primarily as a reference work for educators, particularly reading specialists, language arts specialists and speech pathologists. In Part Two, several select features of Appalachian English are examined in more technical detail; this section is intended primarily for the professional linguist. Chapter 6 deals with "A-prefixing," and chapter 7 with irregular verbs. Chapter 8 discusses the perfective "done," and chapter 9 deals with subject-verb concord. Appendix A provides a sample of two interview questionnaires, one used for adults and one for adolescents. Appendix B consists of a sample informant interview, and Appendix C gives a complete list of the informants who participated in the project, including their age, sex, and occupation. A bibliography concludes the volume. (Author/CLK)

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIABLES IN APPALACHIAN DIALECTS

BY

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FL007181

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIABLES IN APPALACHIAN DIALECTS

National Institute of Education Grant Number NIE-G-74-0026

Final Report

Walt Wolfram and Donna Christian

Center for Applied Linguistics
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PREFACE

The research reported here was carried out under contract Number NIE-G-74-0026, Project Number 4-0493 with the National Institute of Education, from June 20, 1974 to August 31, 1975. The aim of the project was to describe dialect diversity in a neglected geographical area of the United States and to examine the possible effect of this diversity on education. The report is comprised of three parts, two of which are contained in this volume, and a third which is submitted under separate cover. The first part, Chapters One through Five, is intended to give an overview of the descriptive features of Appalachian English and the implications of this linguistic diversity for education. Chapter One sets forth the socio-cultural setting for this study and Chapter Two establishes a sociolinguistic framework for viewing this diversity. In Chapters Three and Four we give an overview of the main features of Appalachian English, focusing on phonological and grammatical levels of language organization. These chapters summarize the bulk of our descriptive work, which serves as a basis for the educational considerations discussed in Chapter Five. Although we have adopted a particular sociolinguistic model for our description, we have attempted to present our findings in such a way that would make them accessible to specialists in fields other than professional linguistics, although we have intended them to be useful to linguists as well. We are primarily interested in providing a meaningful reference work for educators, particularly reading specialists, language arts specialists, and speech pathologists.

Part II of this volume, which includes Chapters Six through Nine, examines ines several select features of Appalachian Engish in more technical detail and is intended primarily for the professional linguist. In these chapters we have taken several prominent linguistic features found in Appalachian English which have not been described in great detail previously and attempted to give a formal descriptive account of them. This part of the report should complement the general overview presented in the first part of this volume. The more comprehensive description of select features of Appalachian English includes a-prefixing, irregular verbs, perfective done, and verb concord. A familiarity with current sociolinguistic models for the formal representation of linguistic variation is assumed in this section of the report.

Part III of this report, submitted under separate cover, examines the possible effect that language differences in Appalachian Engish may have on the evaluation of reading abilities. This section provides a sample study of how the descriptive sociolinguistic information presented in this volume can be used in looking at one aspect of the educational/implications of linguistic diversity in Appalachia. Hugh Rudorf, of the University of Nebraska, was responsible for the research and writing of this part of the report.

The research reported in thos volume was conducted by Walt Wolfram, principal investigator, and Donna Christian, research associate. Since the analysis reported here was, in all respects, a joint effort, the final report is submitted under the joint authorship.

There are many people to whom we are indebted for their assistance and consultation. Prominent among them are those individuals in Monroe and Mercer Counties who aided us in our initial contacts in the area. Mary Compton and William McNeel in Monroe County and C. D. Lilly and Harold Okes of Mercer County were most gracious in helping us establish contacts in the area. They generously opened up the schools in these counties for those aspects of the research which were conducted in connection with the schools. We could not have participated in a more cordial working relationship. They also offered their kind assistance in extending our contacts to other individuals in the area who assisted us in this venture, including Haskell Shumate, county clerk of Monroe County, West Virginia, who provided us with invaluable insight into the history of the region.

The study could not have been conducted without the assistance of our fieldworkers from the two counties. Nora Mann and Gary M. Pence, of Monroe County, and Harless Cook, Brenda Lohr, Agnes Pietrantozzi, and Rebecca Michael, of Mercer County, have demonstrated that indigenous fieldworkers can be used to great advantage in a study of this type. Their adaptation of the questionnaire and general knowledge of the area proved to be a rich, useful resource in this investigation. We owe our greatest debt to them and the informants who provided the interviews that serve as our data base for this analysis. Although the informants, who remain anonymous in this report, may have been puzzled by the seeming inanity of our probing, they willingly tolerated the intrusion into their everyday world.

Finally, we are indebted to our professional colleagues. Roger W. Shuy, Peg Griffin, and Rudolph Troike, of the Center for Applied Linguistics, who interacted with us at many stages in the formation, analysis, and completion of this project. Terrance Graham, of Virginia Polytechnical Institute, worked with us in setting up the original project and consulted with us throughout the duration of the research and writing, and Ralph W. Fasold of Georgetown University, and Corky Feagin, read and commented on parts of the manuscript. Peggy Good has been committed to seeing this project through to completion at some inconvenience to her own schedule of activities. Her constant regard for the final form of the manuscript has been appreciated greatly, even though her concern for perfection has many times been hindered by the manuscript from which she had to type the final report.

Walt Wolfram
Principal Investigator
Center for Applied Linguistics
August, 1975

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PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Everybody lives in the mountains has an accent all to theirself." 44:17

1.0 Introduction

Language variation in American English is something that all speakers of our language notice in one way or another. People notice it and comment about it as they interact with individuals from different regions of the United States and different social and ethnic groups. Educators also confront it as they encounter the effect that dialect diversity may have on language skills relating to the education process. And professional linguists are concerned with it as they attempt to give a formal account of the rules of English.

While language diversity among English varieties has been of interest for some time, we have witnessed an extended descriptive concern for social and ethnic varieties of American English in recent years. Despite the growing concern for understanding the linguistic structure of social varieties, certain needs are still apparent. Some non-mainstream varieties, such as Vernacular Black English, have been the object of a great deal of attention while others, particularly those with strong regional ties, have been virtually ignored. One of these still neglected geographical areas is Appalachia. It is well-known that this area is one of the most divergent in terms of the varieties of American English spoken there, yet it has been accorded minimal descriptive attention in contemporary studies.

The difference between the English spoken in this loosely defined area and other varieties is well-recognized by people from other areas, as they travel through the Appalachian region or have occasion to meet people who have come from there. Unfortunately, poor imitations and stereotypes of the language have been popularized in media presentations depicting life in this mountain range. Such differences are also noticed by the people of Appalachia as they compare their own speech to that of speakers from other areas, or those among them who have lived in other areas and then returned. Educators have been concerned with the possible relationship of this variety and the acquisition of certain educational skills relating to language. As in other non-mainstream speaking communities that have been studied in the United States there appears to be a high correlation between the level of literacy and the use of socially stigmatized language varieties. The literacy level in Appalachia is, for example, critically low when compared with that of other areas of the United States.

From the standpoint of the professional linguist, there is considerable impetus for having a description of this variety which can complement the current descriptions of other social and ethnic varieties of the language. In addition to the expansion of our descriptive base of American varieties, such studies provide an important source for investigating the theoretical nature of language variation. Recent research in sociolinguistics has developed important new models for describing language variation, particularly as evidenced in the formulation of variable rules and implicational relations. Data from this variety may serve as an extended empirical base to investigate the nature of linguistic variation.

The purpose of the present study is to add to our descriptive and practical knowledge of the range of language varieties in American English. On a descriptive level, we are concerned with providing an accurate sociolinguistic description of Appalachian English (henceforth, abbreviated as AE) as typified by one representative variety of the area. For the features of this variety which have been given minimal linguistic attention, we will be concerned with formulating the linguistic rules, utilizing current models of sociolinguistic analysis. For linguistic features which have already been studied in some technical detail, we shall be concerned with comparing our findings here with analyses of data from other areas. On a practical level, this descriptive study should provide a base for looking at a number of educational concerns, including the role of dialect differences in reading, composition, and language testing. While our main practical concentration here will be upon the role of language diversity with respect to reading, the descriptive base has a much more general practical role. Any concern for the role of language diversity in education must start with a solid descriptive base of the language diversity in question, and this study should provide such a base for a representative area of the Appalachian mountain range.

1.1 An Historical Sketch of Appalachia

The Appalachian Mountain region covers territory from Maine to Alabama, but the area most typically referred to as "Appalachia" has generally been considered to encompass parts of Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and all of West Virginia. Parts of bordering states are also included in more official definitions.[1] In all delineations, however, West Virginia is the only state which lies totally within this region. Thus, those features which are most often associated with the Appalachian area will apply in most cases to the entire state (e.g. the predominance of a rural population with few metropolitan centers).

A brief overview of the history of the central and southern Appalachians, and of West Virginia in particular, can give some general indication of the roots of conditions found there today. In the early years of settlement in the East, the Cherokee Indian Nation formed the majority of the inhabitants of this area. After they were driven South, the Shawnees, who lived along the Ohio River, used this for their hunting grounds.[2] In the eighteenth century, settlers began moving west from the Atlantic seaboard, and, when certain routes were found through the mountains, many continued on past them. Some remained, however, and settled in homes in valleys and on the mountainsides themselves. Few permanent settlements survived until after the Indian population was forced out of the area, even though a number of forts were established to protect the settlers (including Wood's Fort and Cook's Fort in what is now Monroe County, West Virginia) (Motley 1973:39). In addition, difficulties were compounded by the rugged environment of the mountains, and, when settlements were maintained, the people were largely cut off from other areas. The romantic picture of the mountaineer, living up in the hills as his ancestors did, is for many people in this area not completely inaccurate.

Many of the early settlers in this region were Pennsylvania Dutch who migrated South, often continuing on to North Carolina. In addition to the Germans, there were also English, Dutch and smaller groups from other parts of Europe. However, a large and influential group, the Scottish, began arriving in America about 1640 and steadily moved to the South and West (Weatherford and Brewer, 1962:2). Those who passed through or remained in West Virginia are thought to have been mainly the Scotch-Irish, so named because their migration pattern included a stop in North Ireland before continuing on to the northern ports in America. (Another stream of Scots emigrated directly from the Highlands, landing in ports in the South.) It is, however, not clear how homogeneous the early population of the area was. Some writers claim that "the mountain people (are) today largely native-born Americans of Scotch-Irish and Highland Scot lineage" (Weatherford and Brewer 1962:4) while others feel that little evidence is available to support such a claim, maintaining instead, that "the probability is that the settlers of the mountains were representative of the population of the nation in the early nineteenth century" (Belcher 1962:39).

Once permanent settlements were established, two basic styles of life developed. The earlier settlers were largely self-sufficient farmers, whose families lived as comparatively independent units. However, during the nineteenth century, when the country as a whole was growing rapidly, the resources of the region, particularly its lumber and coal, made the land valuable. This lifestyle, then, complemented the agricultural lifestyle of earlier settlers. As a result, towns began to emerge, originating as mining and lumbering camps. Coles (1972:494) describes four kinds of communities that developed:

> First there are the hollows, with scattered pockets of people up in the hills--people usually related to one another and people with little to do but farm and hunt. Serving a number of these hollows is usually a larger community...able to offer the surrounding area a crossroad store, a post office, a school... Then there are the towns--mill towns. Here lumber and coal are gathered and loaded on their way out of the region... Finally, there are the real urban centers. They are usually prosperous and again, able to draw upon the wealth of the region's forests and mines...

The two counties we are specifically considering here, Monroe and Mercer Counties, West Virginia, include the range of communities indicated above except for the urban center, and thus seem representative, on this level at least, of West Virginia and the larger Appalachian region. They are located in the far southern part of West Virginia, each bordering on the state of Virginia (see Figure 1), and are similar in terrain, lying within "the most rugged parts" of what is termed the "Ridge and Valley Province" of the southern Appalachian area (Vance 1962:1). However, factors involving other physical features and related aspects of historical development have led to some significant differences between the counties today. These differences,

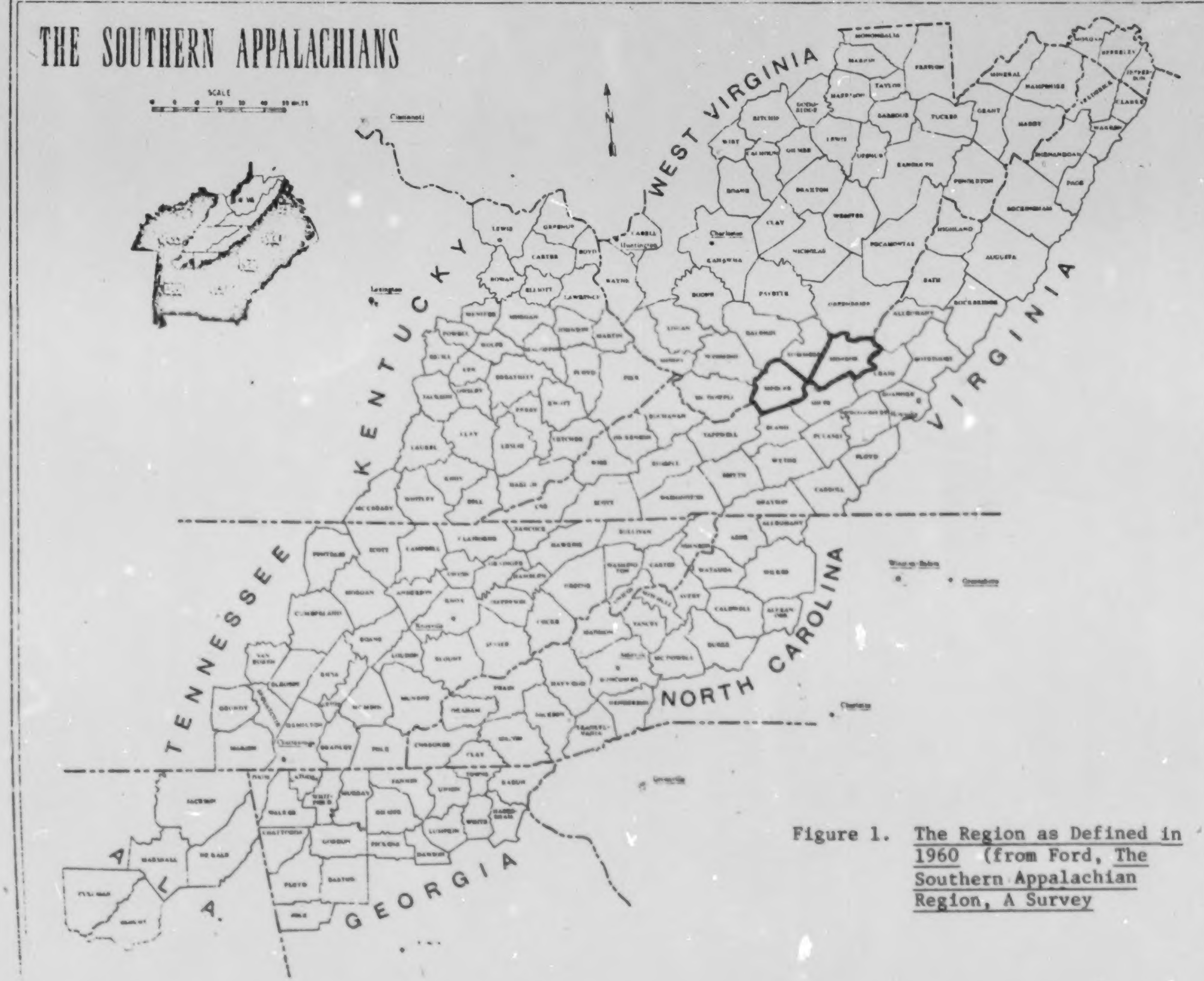

THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS
SCALE
Cincinnati
Lexington
Huntington
Charleston
WEST VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALA.
Knoxville
Chattanooga
Winston-Salem
Greensboro
Charlotte
Greenville

Figure 1. The Region as Defined in 1960 (from Ford, *The Southern Appalachian Region, A Survey*

as we shall see, give, within a relatively small area, two basic types of counties representative of a larger part of Appalachia.

In the years prior to the Civil War, the two counties were quite similar, though Mercer County seems to have been settled somewhat later than Monroe. Incorporated as a separate county in 1799 (then as a part of the state of Virginia), Monroe County consisted mainly of subsistence farmers, with some small communities where several families had gathered. Union, now the county seat, was founded in 1774, and the Rehoboth Methodist Church, one of the first churches in the area, was built outside Union in 1786. By the mid-1800's, a small resort-type industry had developed, when mineral water was discovered and springs were established to exploit its claimed healing powers, including Red Sulphur Springs and Sweet Springs. However, this was relatively short-lived, because other more accessible treatments were found for the various ailments and, probably more importantly, because the predominantly southern upper class clientele diminished in numbers as a result of the Civil War. Some hotels remained in business until after 1900, but attempts at attracting more northerners were not very successful. Since much of the land is covered by forests, with some areas basically impossible to farm, lumber became an important resource of the county. The lumbering that has been done, however, has been mainly in small-scale operations and hasn't had a great impact on the development of the county. Thus, Monroe County has changed little, and the economy remains agriculturally based for the most part.

Both counties seem to have been sympathetic with the South at the time of the Civil War; however, when the state of West Virginia was created in 1863 in reaction to the secession of Virginia, they were officially considered northern counties. Despite this, many of the residents still sided with the South, with, for example, the hotel at Salt Sulphur Springs in Monroe County serving as headquarters for Confederate troops during several campaigns (Motley 1973:147).

Mercer County was not incorporated as a County until 1837 (being a part of the state of Virginia at that time), and its major development took place later than that of Monroe, and in a different direction. Although there was a substantial amount of farming, a more important factor in the development of the county was the discovery of coal resources that were greatly in demand in the rest of the nation. This resulted in the growth of towns whose primary activity centered around mining. Naturally, this development led to greater population growth for the county, and by 1900, it had 23,023 people, as compared to Monroe's 13,130 (Sizer 1967). It also led to a series of changes inherent in the industrialization process for Mercer county. Meanwhile, Monroe County remained largely isolated from many of these changes.

This is not to say, however, that the counties as a whole are radically different today. The rural sections of Mercer County are much like Monroe County, and probably fairly typical of rural Appalachia in general, consisting of a number of small communities and relatively isolated groups living in the mountains. The main differences are found in the areas of Mercer County which can be classified as "urban" according to the 1970 census. This "urban" area consists of approximately one-third of the total population of 63,206, and represents only two cities, Princeton, the county seat (population 7,253), and Bluefield (population 15,921). Monroe County, with a 1970 population of 11,272 had no urban areas at all, and its county seat, Union, with 566 residents, is the largest town. (See Figure 2 for comparison of population distribution.)[3]

As greater attention is being given to the situation in Appalachia today, Kentucky and West Virginia are often focused on because so much of the discussion revolves around the mining industry. However, in comparing the two counties being considered here, it can be seen that the rural counties in this area have faced many of the same difficulties, except that the changes in the farming economy may have been less dramatic than those in mining. The nature of the physical environment, for example, affects all areas, leading to problems like the one pointed out by Ter Horst (1972:37) who notes that the development of transportation systems is difficult because of the expense involved in building highways, with a two-lane paved road costing two million dollars per mile in mountainous areas of West Virginia. Coles (1972:495) discusses the convergence of factors giving rise to economic problems:

> ...difficult terrain that has not made the entry of private capital easy, progressive deforestation, land erosion, periods of affluence when "coal was king", followed by increasing automation of the mine industry (and a decreasing national demand for coal), pollution that has ruined some of its finest streams so that strip mining can go full speed ahead...

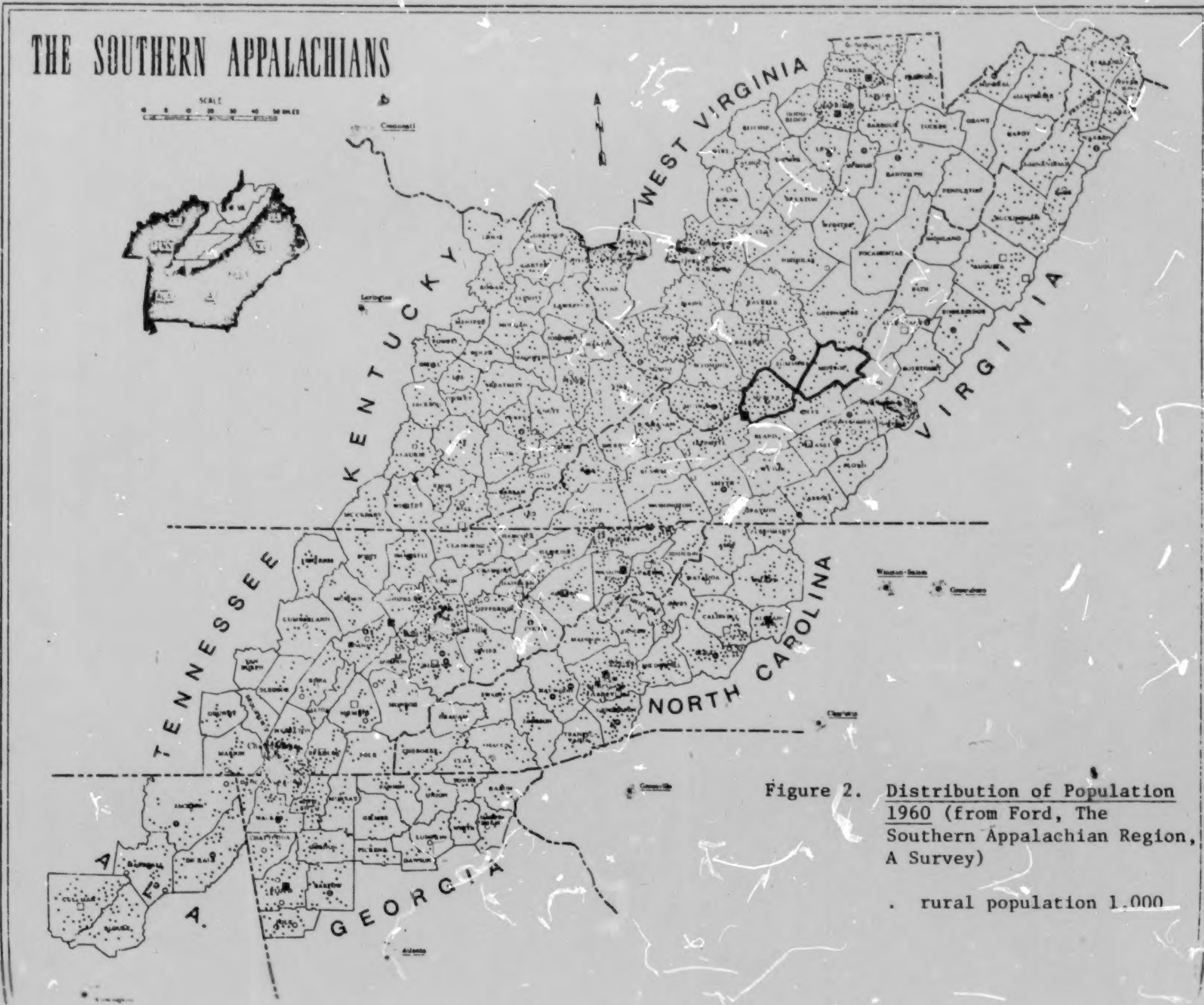

THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS
SCALE
Cincinnati
Lexington
KENTUCKY
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALA.
Winston-Salem
Greensboro
Charlotte
Greenville
Atlanta
CUMBERLAND

Figure 2. Distribution of Population 1960 (from Ford, The Southern Appalachian Region, A Survey)

. rural population 1,000

Changes in population reflect the economic state of an area, with prosperity generally coinciding with increases in population. One of the most striking facts about Appalachia is the rate at which it has lost population in the last 25 years, through a combination of out-migration and decrease in the birth rate. Of those states affected by out-migration and birth decrease, West Virginia has been the hardest hit (Brown 1972:131). Figure 3 gives the population figures for Monroe and Mercer counties for the years 1900-1970, showing clearly the recent decline. It can be seen that Monroe County, with its farming base, remained relatively stable in population until recently, except for a decline during the Depression. Mercer County, on the other hand, shows a rapid growth period from 1900 to 1950, coinciding with the development of coal mining and then a more dramatic decline. The influence of coal is also evident from the number of people employed in mining, which in Mercer County dropped from 3,808 in 1940, to 2,690 in 1950, to 427 in 1960 (Sizer 1967:100).

High rates of migration, thus, have been a major result of the economic situation in the area, with coal mining usually considered the prime cause. Brown (1972:142) notes:

> In eastern Kentucky, southern West Virginia and southwestern Virginia, the drastic decline of employment in coal mining during the 1950's continued on into the 1960's as a result of mechanization and the growth of strip mining. Together with availability of employment in metropolitan industrial centers outside Appalachia itself, notably in the Midwest, this resulted in a virtual stampede of migrants out of the region in the 1950's. Although the number of migrants leaving declined in the 1960's, the rate of migration loss from most of this area was still very high.

Figure 4 shows the extent of high rates of migration in this area for the period 1950-1960. It also indicates that rural, non-mining counties like Monroe have as well been affected by migration. There are two significant consequences of this process which will not be discussed extensively, but should be mentioned. First, migration of great numbers to large midwestern and northern cities naturally leads to some problems in these locations. The migration to large cities adds to their labor pool and often to their unemployment statistics, so that many of the outmigrants ultimately return to their home states. A number of studies have been done on the Appalachian migrant in the city (e.g. Walls and Stephenson 1973; Glenn 1970;

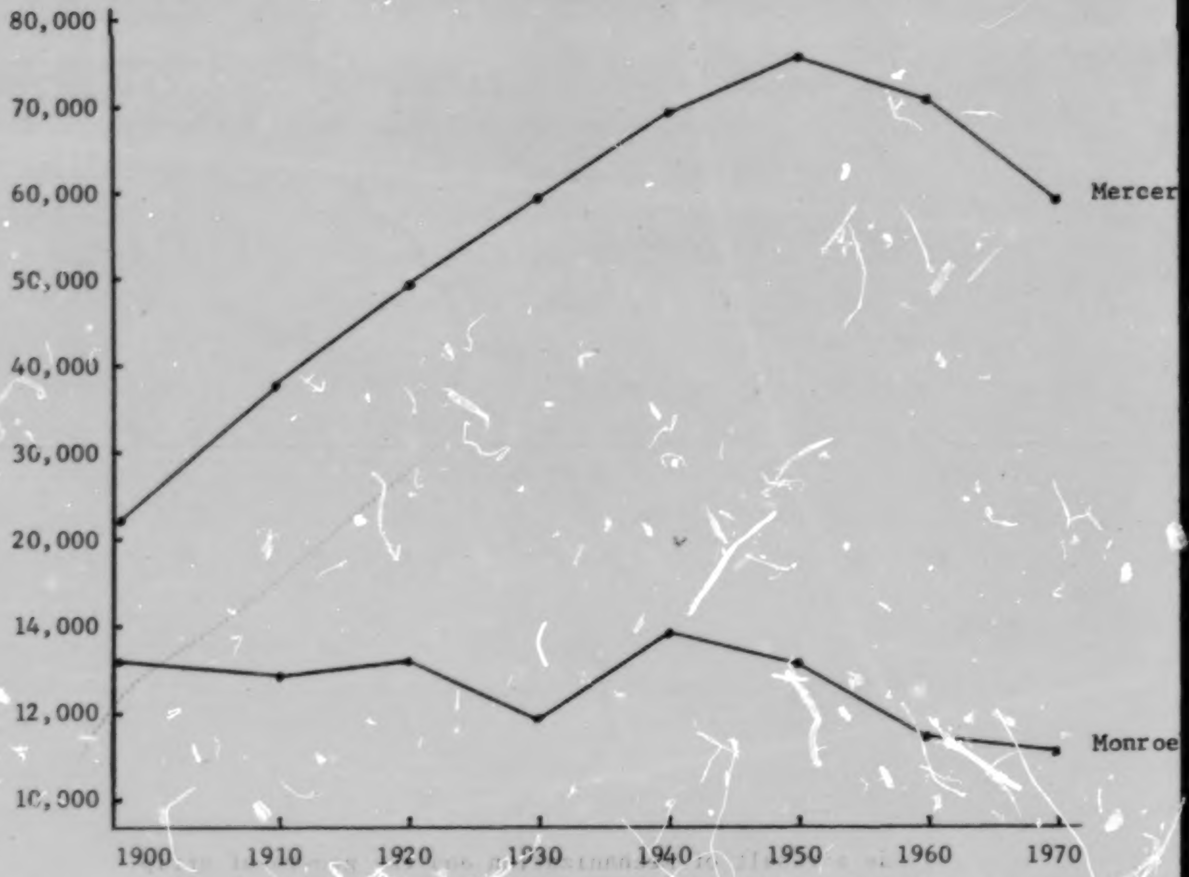


Figure 3. Population figures for Monroe and Mercer Counties, West Virginia 1900-1970 (From Sizer 1967 and the 1970 census).

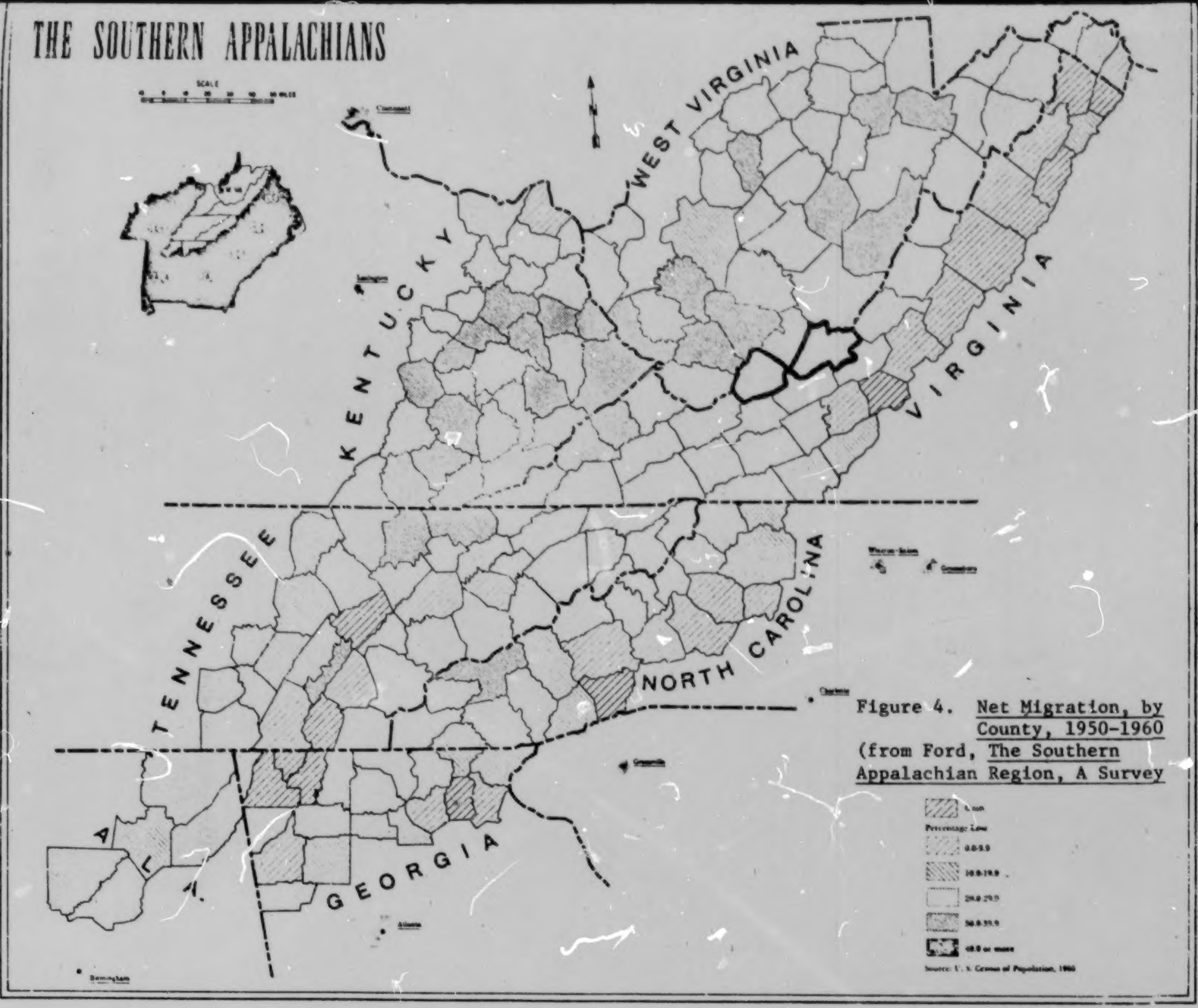

THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS
SCALE
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALA.
Cincinnati
Lexington
Winston-Salem
Greensboro
Charlotte
Greenville
Atlanta
Birmingham
Gain
Percentage Loss
0.0-9.9
10.0-19.9
20.0-29.9
30.0-39.9
40.0 or more

Figure 4. Net Migration, by County, 1950-1960 (from Ford, The Southern Appalachian Region, A Survey

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1960

Photiadis 1969) which document the kinds of problems that are created in such contexts. The second consequence is that many of those who leave the area are the young adults, often the more educated, who either cannot find employment or who see more attractive opportunities elsewhere. This leaves some areas with an unbalanced distribution of population among various age groups, a matter which has led to a certain amount of concern.

A few more statistics will provide a fuller picture of the two counties and point up the similarities between them, despite their somewhat different economic bases. Unemployment in 1970 was 5.0 per cent in Mercer and 9.0 per cent in Monroe County, as compared to the state as a whole at 5.1 per cent. The percentage of families with income below the federally-defined poverty level in Mercer County was 18 per cent, identical to the statewide figure, while Monroe County had over 29 per cent in that category. (Some adjustment might need to be made in these figures for those engaged in farming for their own consumption; however, this would probably make only a very slight difference.) Moreover, only 8.5 per cent of Mercer and 4.9 per cent of Monroe families had incomes of $15,000 or more. In education, the median number of school years completed for those 25 years of age and over was 11.0 in Mercer and 9.9 in Monroe. An increased emphasis on the value of education is probably indicated by the fact that, of those persons between 14 and 17 years of age, Mercer had 88.2 and Monroe and 92.3 per cent in school in 1970.

The brief picture of these Appalachian counties given above mirrors to a large extent that of the entire region, both historically and presently, with the physical environment a very important determining factor of the area's development at all times. The isolation of the past has been to a great extent overcome but by no means completely, and this has brought an increased contact between the culture which had evolved here and that of other parts of the nation.

1.2 The Linguistic Sample

In order to provide an adequate data base for our linguistic analysis, a fairly extensive collection of tape-recorded samples of spontaneous conversation has been obtained from Monroe and Mercer Counties in West Virginia. In all, 129 tape recorded samples have been obtained. Five different age levels are represented by the informants:[4] 7-11 years, 12-14 years, 15-18 years, 20-40 years, and over 40 years. The majority of the informants would be considered to be of the lower socio-economic level according to current indices, although there is some representation of the entire social range of the population in this area. Our sample is, however, somewhat out of proportion with the entire population since recent figures indicate that approximately 25 per cent of the population falls below the federally defined poverty level. Our concentration on the lower socio-economic classes is motivated by the fact that we are primarily concerned with the language variety which might be considered most divergent from some of the more mainstream varieties of English.

The informants in this study were all interviewed by fieldworkers from the area, non-linguists who were trained specifically to do sociolinguistic interviews. A broad outline of questions was prepared in consultation with some of the fieldworkers in order to focus on topics of local interest. Interviewers were instructed to be flexible with the outline and pursue topics of interest, following the guidelines for obtaining relatively natural spontaneous conversation outlined in Wolfram and Fasold (1974:46-54). Local themes found frequently in our tapes include childhood games, hunting, fishing and ghost stories, the mining industry and local farming customs (cf. Appendix A for a copy of the questionnaire and Appendix B for a typescript sample).

In all, six different fieldworkers from Monroe and Mercer Counties participated in the collection of interviews. Interviews were carried out in a number of locations, including the home of the informant, the home of the fieldworker or a location convenient to both. The location of the interview was left up to the discretion of the fieldworker, although they were instructed to conduct the interview in a setting where the informant would be most apt to be comfortable. In some instances, younger children had to be interviewed within the context of the school, for reasons beyond our control.

The different fieldworkers represented considerable range in their ability to elicit the type of spontaneous conversation which was necessary for this descriptive study. Several of the fieldworkers were extremely ingenious in how they carried out the interview, and had considerable advantage over the type of interview that would have had to be conducted by these researchers. They fully utilized their indigenous status through their previous knowledge of interests of the informant and their ability to pick up cues about activities in the area. There are, of course, also instances where the fieldworker felt too constrained by the interview outline and did not elicit adequate amounts of spontaneous conversation for our purposes. But the excellence of the good interviews by some indigenous fieldworkers seemed to adequately compensate for the formality of others. In anticipation of a range of interviewing capabilities, we purposely arranged to have considerably more interviews conducted than we could analyze thoroughly.

The informants used for this analysis were not chosen randomly. Rather than choose a random sample, we set up a profile of the type of individual we were interested in for the sake of this study, and asked the indigenous fieldworker to choose a "typical" representative within the age variables specified for the study. Fieldworkers were told to choose individuals who were typically of the lower socio-economic classes and who were lifetime residents of the area. For the most part, fieldworkers complied with our requests, as indicated in the background information data sheets filled out for each informant.

In an attempt to pare down the original collection of tapes to a more useable size in terms of a corpus for more extended technical analysis, each of the original tapes was evaluated by the researchers in terms of the quality of the interview. Primarily, we were concerned with the amount of speech found in the interview and the rapport which the fieldworker had with the informant. An additional concern was the fidelity of the recording for detailed listening. Each tape-recorded interview was listened to by these researchers and a judgment made of its potential for quantitative sociolinguistic analysis in terms of a basic three grade rating system. A grade of 1 was assigned to interviews which were judged to have a good representation of spontaneous conversation and good interviewer-informant rapport. Typically, these recordings consisted of interviews of between 45 minutes to an hour, with the majority of the conversation carried by the informant. A grade of 2 was assigned to interviews with a fair amount of spontaneous conversation and adequate rapport between the fieldworker and the informant. A grade of 3 was assigned to short interviews (30 minutes or less) and/or those in which the interviewer-informant rapport seemed inadequate to produce the type of spontaneous, relatively informal speech in which we were interested. While these ratings were ultimately subjective, a survey of the two evaluators of tapes indicated that there was a good deal of agreement between researchers as to the value of the tape for the purposes of this investigation.

From the original sample, 52 taped interviews were chosen for more intensive linguistic analysis. These tapes were chosen to represent the age categories presented above for each sex. Within each cell (with five age categories and two sexes) all interviews with a rating of 1 were chosen to be a part of the primary corpus. Interviews which did not receive a 1 rating were chosen in terms of a decreasing rating scale until at least five informants in each cell were chosen. All interviews with a rating of 3 were automatically assigned to the secondary corpus. In addition, interviews rated 2 were assigned to the secondary corpus after the limit of five informants in each cell had been chosen. In this study, the secondary corpus was utilized for extraction of forms which provided a basis for some of the aspects of AE studied only qualitatively. The primary corpus was used for both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of this study.

In Table 1 the distribution of interviews chosen to serve as the primary corpus is given. It should be noted that two of the cells do not have five informants in them. One cell, 20-40 year-old males, has only four informants due to the fact that our original sample did not provide us with an adequate representation of males in this category. The cell with more than five informants, females above 40, has eight informants due to the fact that more than five received ratings of 1 for the adequacy of the interview.

The way in which we have selected our primary corpus is, of course, biased in favor of those interviews which produced a considerable amount of spontaneous conversation and those that had evidenced good rapport between the interviewer and the informant. And, as mentioned earlier, there was a bias in terms of what the fieldworkers might have conceived as fairly representative speakers from the area in the various age categories we designated in this study. While such a bias might hinder us from getting a representative cross-section of the population, it seemed appropriate in terms of the goals of the study.

	Male			Female		
Age Group	Tape No.	Age	Interview Rating	Tape No.	Age	Interview Rating
7-11	47	7	1-	73	8	1-
	48	9	1-	74	11	1-
	49	9	1-	75	10	2+
	51	10	1	77	11	1
	124	11	1-	80	9	2+
12-14	2	13	1	61	14	2+
	4	13	1	70	13	2
	6	14	1-	148	13	2
	10	14	1-	150	13	2
	44	14	1	154	13	1-
15-18	1	15	1-	64	15	1-
	7	17	2	65	15	2+
	17	16	2+	66	17	2+
	46	15	2+	149	18	2+
	155	17	2	151	18	1-
20-40	87	24	2-	29	33	2+
	158	25	2-	35	22	1
	159	20	1-	36	27	1
	164	33	1-	40	39	1
				156	20	1
40+	22	60	1	28	42	1
	30	50	1	37	45	1
	31	67	1	160	56	1
	32	54	1-	83	93	1
	146	52	1	85	78	1
				152	64	1
				153	83	1
				157	52	1

Table 1. List of Informants Used for Extensive Study of Appalachian English, by Tape Number, Age and Interview Rating

CHAPTER ONE

FOOTNOTES

1. The Appalachian Regional Commission, for example, also lists counties in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama.

2. In addition to the bibliographic resources cited, information in this section was provided by Haskell Shumate, county clerk of Monroe County, West Virginia, in a conversation about the history of the area.

3. The statistics in this section from the 1970 census were obtained from a U. S. Department of Commerce publication, _Characteristics of the Population: West Virginia_ (January 1973) where this information as well as comparative figures from earlier censuses can be found.

4. The term "informant" is used traditionally in linguistics to refer to someone who furnishes the researcher with samples of language. It should not be equated with the connotations of the term "informer" as it is used outside the linguistic circles.

CHAPTER TWO

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF APPALACHIAN ENGLISH

2.0 Introduction

In order to place the description of AE in the subsequent chapters within an appropriate context, it is necessary to set forth a framework for viewing linguistic diversity. Some aspects of this model involve the consideration of social factors, whereas others deal primarily with linguistic considerations.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of sociolinguistic studies in the past decade has been the discovery that various social dialects in the United States are differentiated from each other not only by discrete sets of features but also by variations in the frequencies with which certain features or rules occur. This observation was in many respects at variance with popular perceptions of how varieties of English were differentiated. It was commonly thought, for example, that certain low-class groups always used a particular linguistic form and high class groups never did. Studies of social dialects in the United States in the mid and late 1960's, however, clearly revealed that varieties of English could not be distinguished by simple "categorical" statements. In many cases, it was inaccurate to say that one group ALWAYS used a particular form and another group NEVER did. Instead, social dialects were more typically differentiated by the EXTENT to which a certain rule applied, and many sociolinguistic studies ultimately involved a quantitative as well as a qualitative dimension.

Most of the linguistic features or rules we discuss for AE are variable rather than categorical. The term variable, as used here, refers to the fact that a speaker who has a particular form or rule will not use it in every instance where he might include it, but will instead fluctuate between it and an alternate form. For example, one of the characteristics of some AE speakers is the use of the "a-prefix" with certain verb + ing constructions, as in a sentence such as He was a-runnin' across the field. However, there are also many cases where the a-prefix does not occur but could have been used. Therefore, the same speaker who utters the above sentence may also use its non-a-prefixed counterpart, He was runnin' across the field. This type of fluctuation is quite common and does not imply any inherent structural weakness in the system. Analogous types of alternation can be observed within any of the varieties designated as standard English. For example, the relative pronoun that may occur in some cases as in There's the boat that I built, though it could be deleted in other cases as in There's the boat I built, resulting in a similar fluctuation between the presence and absence of a particular form. The difference between this example and the alternation illustrated for AE is that the alternate form in the one case is socially obtrusive (that is, it is more likely to be noticed and even commented on) whereas in the other case it is not. Variation of this type is a common and widespread phenomenon that is simply an integral part of the organization of language systems.

That we observe variation between alternate forms does not necessarily mean that fluctuation is completely random and haphazard. Although we cannot predict exactly which form may be used in a given instance, sociolinguistic studies reveal that there are factors which systematically affect the likelihood that a particular variant will occur. When this takes place, we have what may be referred to as structured variability. Part of this effect on variability may be accounted for by appealing to social factors, so that certain social variables may influence the relative frequency with which a given form will occur. Other aspects of structured variability can be accounted for by looking at linguistic context, such as the preceding or following linguistic environment. In these cases, certain linguistic contexts can be found to exert a fairly consistent influence on the frequency level of a given form. The systematic effect of these social and linguistic factors on linguistic variability is the touchstone of much of the current investigation of different varieties of American English.

2.1 Social Aspects of Variation

When we speak of the social variable we are referring to the various behavioral factors that may be correlated with linguistic diversity. Obviously, there are a large number of these, and any study is somewhat limited by the social factors that it chooses to consider. Although it may be theoretically possible to isolate various social variables for the sake of study, it must be understood that this is often an artifice of the way in which a study is conducted, for it is the interaction of various social factors that ultimately accounts for linguistic diversity.

2.1.1 Region

A central factor in terms of accounting for diversity within American English is geographical region. Regionally-correlated differences emerge for several reasons. In the first place, we have different patterns of settlement history. Dialect areas in the United States often indicate the migration of the early settlers, and this is no different for those varieties found in the Appalachian mountain range. The effect of the relatively large and influential Scotch-Irish settlement in the area as described in Chapter One still lingers to this day. Another factor affecting regional differences is the general pattern of population movement. For example, the major drift of the White population of America has been east to west, a fact reflected by many of the dialect boundaries that can be isolated as they delineate different regional groups in the United States today. As a result of movement like this, it is very likely that a number of the linguistic characteristics of AE might also be found in areas of the Ozarks, given the fact that there was considerable migration from Appalachia to the Ozarks during one period in the migratory history of the United States.

Finally, there is the matter of physical geography. At one point in the history of the United States, physical features such as mountains, rivers, and other natural barriers were an important factor in separating groups from each other, thus allowing discontinuities in the patterns of communication to emerge. Whenever such discontinuities emerge, whether due to geographic or social factors, we have a natural situation for linguistic divergence to arise. Although modern technological advances may have reduced to a great extent the obstacles that the physical parameters posed, the previously established lines of communication still show the effects of separation. In many cases, geographically isolated areas of this type are seen to preserve some older forms of the language, and thus become so-called relic areas. While it cannot be denied that modern communication and transportation systems have had an effect on Appalachia, their influence seems to be somewhat exaggerated, for geographical patterns often go hand in hand with other social factors. There are, for example, particular lifestyles in Appalachia which have been maintained despite the greater accessibility of the area in general. Therefore, the geographical distribution and the maintenance of a particular lifestyle can still be seen to set this region apart from other regions in the United States. One aspect of this difference is, naturally, reflected in language.

2.1.2 Status

Region is obviously an essential variable in accounting for certain aspects of linguistic diversity, but it does not stand alone. Within a given geographical region all individuals do not talk alike, so that we need to appeal to other social parameters as well in order to account for differences in a systematic way. Even a work as heavily oriented toward settlement history and geographical distribution as the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada had to recognize the intersection of social status in accounting for linguistic diversity within a geographically-defined locale.

Although there is little doubt that social status differences correlate with linguistic differences, a precise definition of social status in our society is rather elusive. Various attempts to define it through objective parameters such as occupation, education, residency, and income have proved useful, but not foolproof. On the other hand, attempts to define it in terms of the subjective evaluation of individuals actually participating in the community's social relations also are not without some pitfalls. It is a concept which ultimately combines subjective and objective parameters of many types of behavioral roles.

Several approaches have been utilized in terms of correlating linguistic differences with social status differences. In some cases, various social classes are delimited before linguistic analysis, so that linguistic features are correlated with predetermined social groups. In other cases, the population is delimited on the basis of linguistic differences then examined in terms of the social characteristics of the various linguistic groups. It is also possible to use a combination of methods, starting with a finely stratified group of subjects, but combining and manipulating the social groups in such a way as to most clearly reveal patterns of correlation between linguistic phenomenon and social stratification. To the extent that social status is a variable to be considered in our description, our general approach has been to determine linguistic groups first and then look at the various social characteristics of these groups. Our main goal, however, is to give a description of the variety of English spoken in Appalachia which would be more distant from mainstream varieties of standard English. As a result, we have focused more on the speech of individuals typically assigned lower social status in the area.

Any linguistic variable whose distribution differs on the basis of social status may be referred to as socially diagnostic. Naturally, socially diagnostic features will differ in terms of how they correlate with various social status groups. One of the differences between socially diagnostic linguistic variables related to their intersection with regional differences discussed above. There are some socially diagnostic linguistic variables which are only found to be socially significant in a particular region. In other regions, the variable may have little or no socially diagnostic value. For example, the absence of a contrast between the vowel i and e before nasal segments (e.g. pin versus pen) may be diagnostic in some more northern areas, but it is not particularly diagnostic in many regions of the South, including apparently the area of Appalachia which has been studied here. On the other hand, there are some variables which apparently have a more general socially diagnostic value which is not characteristic of any particular region of the United States. It is likely that, for example, negated sentences (see Section 4.3.1) would be socially diagnostic in any area.

There are, in addition, differences in the way diagnostic variables relate to differentiation according to social class. Some sharply differentiate social classes so that there is a fairly discrete separation of social classes on the basis of the linguistic variable. In such a case, members of one group would tend to use a particular feature a great deal while members of another group might use it only rarely or not at all. On the other hand, there are cases in which social classes are not as discretely differentiated, showing instead a progressive increase in the frequency with which forms are used as various social classes are compared. Here, members of one group would be likely to fall within a certain range in the usage of a particular feature, and this range would differ, but not radically, from that of another group. The case of sharp demarcation between social groups has been referred to as sharp stratification and those which involve less discrete differences as gradient stratification (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:80-81).

In terms of the social significance of various features, we may distinguish between socially prestigious and socially stigmatized features. Socially prestigious features are those which are adopted by high-status groups as a linguistic indication of social status, whereas stigmatized features are associated with low status groups. It is important to note that the absence of a prestige feature does not imply that the alternate form is stigmatized, nor vice versa. Thus, for example, the avoidance of multiple negation in constructions such as He didn't do nothing does not necessarily mean that the singly negated counterpart is prestigious. In our description of the features of AE, the difference between stigmatized and non-stigmatized forms is discussed much more frequently than that between prestigious and non-prestigious alternates. While this may be attributable in part to the focus of our study, this is also characteristic of how social differentiation in language operates in American society. Status groups are more often differentiated by the usage of socially stigmatized features than they are by the usage of socially prestigious ones. In fact, it is tempting to define standard varieties of English in terms of their relative absence of socially stigmatized features used by non-mainstream groups as opposed to the socially prestigious features which may be found among high status groups. This pattern would contrast with that of a society which emphasized differentiation in terms of socially prestigious features rather than stigmatized ones.

Perhaps more important than the objective stratification of features in terms of socially diagnostic features are the subjective reactions that various groups have to them. Labov (1964:102) has classified subjective reactions into three main types: social indicators, social markers, and social stereotypes. Social indicators can be correlated with social class, but have little effect on a listener's judgment of the social status of the speaker. Wolfram and Fasold note:

> One of the most important clues for social indicators is the lack of variation in different styles. If speakers show a conscious or unconscious awareness of a socially diagnostic feature they will generally vary its

> frequency in more formal styles. Thus, a prestigious variant would become more frequent in more formal styles of speech and a stigmatized one less frequent. In the case of social indicators, this does not generally take place because of relative unawareness of the socially diagnostic variable.
>
> (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:83)

Social markers show both social and stylistic variation and have a regular effect on a listener's judgment of a speaker's social status. It is not necessary for social markers to be recognized on a conscious level; in many cases, they may evoke an unconscious effect in a listener.

In the case of social stereotypes, however, particular linguistic features become the overt topics of social comment in the speech community. Features such as the use of ain't, multiple negation, or the use of an item like 'tater for potato may be social stereotypes. There are actually a number of social stereotypes found in AE, many of which would be the object of comment from outsiders, but also some which are commented on by people from the region. Since there are, however, a number of stereotypes that do not correspond to actual linguistic behavior, we must caution here that we are referring only to those features that relate to actual speech. In many cases, stereotypes involve a legitimate observation but an interpretation which has no basis in fact. For example, it may be an accurate observation to note that AE speakers tend to reduce certain glided vowels in English (e.g. as in time) but to attribute it to climate or ambition has absolutely no basis in fact. By the same token, it may be valid to note that some AE speakers tend to use intensifying adverbs to a greater extent than other varieties of Engish (e.g. as in plumb stupid or right smart) but claiming the source of this to be an innate concern for vividness and preciseness in AE is also unwarranted. The types of stereotypes that evolve concerning the linguistic features of a variety such as AE are an interesting and important topic for study, but beyond the scope of this description.

2.1.3 Style

Another important social variable is style. It does not take any particular sociolinguistic expertise to realize that speakers show considerable flexibility in their use of style. We do not need to be informed by a sociolinguist that we talk to a casual peer acquaintance in a manner different from the way we talk to a respected authority. Lay indications of such sensitivity are readily available.

There are a number of ways in which we might approach the matter of stylistic variation, but the most essential dimension appears to relate to how much attention speakers focus on their speech. The general principle governing stylistic shifting is summarized by Labov when he observes that "styles can be ordered along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech" (1972a:112). Within an interview, formal styles are defined as those situations where speech is a primary focus, whereas informal styles are defined in terms of the contexts where there is the least amount of audio-monitoring of speech. At one end of the continuum is the careful speech that one might use in a tape-recorded interview with a respected stranger; at the other end of the continuum is the informal style one would use with a trusted peer group member without an outsider present. Naturally, every tape-recorded interview situation creates a somewhat artificial situation which will have a tendency to lead to more formal styles, and this study is no exception. If more informal speech styles are desired, certain strategies must be utilized to overcome the built-in obstacles of the tape-recorded interview situation. One method of overcoming this is through the use of indigenous fieldworkers, people from the area who are personal acquaintances with the informants. In this particular research project, indigenous fieldworkers were used to considerable advantage, as they pursued topics of interest to the informants and events which were part of their common experience. Such topics allow subjects to minimize the attention they give to the form of their speech. This involvement in the subject matter proved to be advantageous for the elicitation of more informal speech styles since it provides a focus on content, rather than form of speech. Naturally, subjects still indicated somewhat of a range of formality, but typically, they responded with speech which was relatively casual, especially as the interview proceeded.

Socially diagnostic features typically show parallel behavior along a social class and style continuum. In particular, a feature which is more common in the lower social classes than it is in the upper classes will also be more common in more informal styles than in formal styles for all speakers. That is, a stigmatized form would be expected to show decreased frequencies and a prestigious variant increased frequencies as one moves from informal to formal styles.

Related to style shifting along the continuum of formality is the notion of hypercorrection. In general, hypercorrection is characterized by the overextension of a feature to contexts where the feature is not used by native speakers of a language. This overextension is due to a situation where the constraints on formality make the speaker aware of the need to use socially acceptable forms. Wolfram and Fasold (1974:87-88) note two types of hypercorrection, one which is quantitative and one which is qualitative. In statistical hypercorrection, the structural placement of forms follows that of the more prestigious groups, but the relative frequency of the forms exceeds the norms of the more prestigious social groups. This typically takes place in more formal styles, where the linguistic security of the lower-middle classes makes them use frequency levels higher than the more secure upper middle classes when speech is the primary focus. Structural hypercorrection, on the other hand, involves the extension of a form to structural contexts where it would not normally be used. A speaker may realize that a feature is socially favored, but not be aware of its restriction in terms of linguistic environments and thus use the form in linguistic contexts where it is inappropriate in terms of the rules of the language variety which the speaker is trying to emulate. Most of the examples of hypercorrection cited in our study involve structural rather than statistical hypercorrection.

2.1.4 Age

There are actually two types of age-related phenomena that must be distinguished in any discussion of age differences. One type relates to generational differences. In this case, older generations may not have undergone linguistic changes that have affected the younger generation. Although we may not always have access to detailed accounts of specific language behavior of various generations at different time periods, it is possible to observe language changes that are taking place through the apparent time. From this perspective, we view different generations within a population as a reflection of different time levels. Thus, the speech of a group of AE speakers over 40 may represent one period in the history of the language while a younger group, say, 17-20, represents another time period. To a large extent, the linguistic change in progress in Appalachia is observed by appealing to the dimension of apparent time. By the same token, stability of certain features in AE is noted by observing the occurrence of similar forms for all the different age groups delimited in this study.

When we say that particular forms in AE characterize the older generation, we are, for the most part, maintaining that the features are undergoing change, and may be lost or changed by the current generation. In some ways, the change currently taking place within AE may appear more rapid than that observed in some other varieties of English. This should not be interpreted without qualification, however, since there are still many features characterizing AE which indicate a good degree of stability.

In addition to generational differences, it is important to recognize the phenomena of age-grading. This refers to characteristic linguistic behaviors appropriate for different stages in the life history of an individual. Within the life cycle of an individual, there are behavioral patterns that are considered appropriate for various stages. Language, as one aspect of behavior, is a way in which these can be manifested. Age-grading, as we have defined it here, should be clearly differentiated from language development. Language development refers to the initial acquisition of a language system, whereas age-grading refers to age-related differences once acquisition has taken place. Thus, post-acquisitional adolescent speech may differ from teen-aged or adult speech because of different linguistic expectations in these different stages of life cycle. While age-grading is to be differentiated from generational differences, there is, of course, an intersection, and the isolation of these aspects can sometimes be made only on the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the language system. Some age-grading differences have been observed in AE but generational differences tend to be more prominent.

2.1.5 Sex

Finally, we should mention the parameter of sex differences in relation to language. Although some cultures prescribe important differences between men and women's speech, including entire grammatical categories, differences in English tend to be somewhat more subtle (cf. Labov 1972b). With reference to socially diagnostic linguistic features, it has been noted that women tend to avoid socially stigmatized features moreso than men. To a large extent, this difference is quantitative rather than qualitative, so that women simply tend to reveal lower frequency levels for socially stigmatized forms. There are, of course, a number of sociological reasons why this might be the case, given different behavioral role expectations in our society. While the use of socially stigmatized variants on the part of males may be viewed as an indicator of masculinity, positive values are not as readily attached to the use of such variants by women. Furthermore, women often tend to be the innovators of language change, given their culturally designated sensitivity to language norms. This may often result in their taking the lead with respect to the spread of socially prestigious features.

Sex-related differences are not as apparent in our study of AE, as they have been in some other studies, although it appears that the general avoidance of socially stigmatized features by women is found to some extent. The differences between the men and women in our sample, however, appear to be mostly quantitative, and of lesser importance that other social variables, such as age and status.

2.2 Linguistic Aspects of Variation

2.2.1 Structured Variability

Not all the effects on the variability of linguistic forms can be accounted for on the basis of the types of social factors cited above. As mentioned previously, there are some systematic effects on variability which are related to the linguistic context in which items may occur. It is observed that some linguistic environments tend to favor a particular form or rule as opposed to other environments. This can best be understood by way of illustration, taking the case of word-final consonant cluster reduction as found in some varieties of American English. This particular rule has been studied in a range of settings, with the various studies showing an impressive regularity in the operation of the rule. The rule in question affects the final stop member of a word-final consonant cluster such as st, nd, ld, sht, md and so forth (for a complete list of the clusters affected by this rule, see Section 3.1.1). Thus, items such as west, find, or cold may be realized as wes', fin' or col' respectively.

In addition to the effect of social variables such as those discussed above, there is a systematic effect on the relative frequency of consonant cluster reduction which is related to the preceding and following linguistic environments. These linguistic factors include whether the following word begins with a consonant as opposed to a vowel and the way in which the cluster has been formed. With reference to the following environment, we find that a following word which begins with a consonant will greatly increase the likelihood that the reduction process will take place. Thus, for example, we find reduction more frequent in a context such as west road or cold cuts than in a context such as west end or cold apple. While some reduction may be found in both contexts, it is clearly favored when the following word begins with a consonant.

As mentioned above, we also find that reduction is influenced by the way in which the cluster is formed. To understand this relationship, we must note that some clusters are an inherent part of the word base, as in items like guest or wild. There are, however, other cases where a cluster is formed only through the addition of an -ed suffix, which is primarily formed phonetically through the addition of t or d. When the -ed suffix is added to an item such as guess, the form guessd is pronounced the same as guest, so that it now ends in an st cluster. Or, an item like called may actually end in an ld cluster as it is pronounced something like calld. In these cases, the cluster is formed because of the -ed addition, since neither call nor guess have basic word forms which end in a cluster. When the degree of variation for base word clusters is compared with those formed through the addition of -ed, it is found that the former case clearly favors consonant cluster reduction. That is, we are more likely to find word-final consonant cluster reduction in an item such as guest or wild than in one like guessed or called. Again, we note that fluctuation can be observed in both types of clusters, so that the favoring effect of base word clusters on reduction is simply a matter of relative frequency. The systematic effect of the linguistic influences observed here is quite regular from speaker to speaker in terms of the relative effect, although, of course, the actual percentage figures may differ somewhat. It is further observed that the relative effect of these influences on reduction cuts across various social classes of the varieties of English where the consonant cluster reduction rule operates.

When linguists have actually looked at the influence of various linguistic factors on the relative frequency of rule operation, they have found that not only are there many influences which favor the operation of certain rules, but some of these will effect the rule to a greater degree than others. Although we have already noted the influences of the following environment and the way in which the cluster is formed, we have yet to establish which of these effects on reduction is greater. For example, is the effect of the following consonant on reduction greater than that of a base word cluster, or vice versa? One way to determine the relationship between various influences is to order them along a progressive dimension, in which the extent of rule operation is differentiated according to all the possible environmental combinations. For example, the possible combination of environmental influences which are found for consonant cluster reduction are (1) a following consonant when the cluster is part of the basic word, (2) a following consonant when the cluster is formed through the addition of the -ed suffix, (3) a following vowel when the cluster is part of the basic word, and (4) a following vowel when the cluster is formed through the addition of -ed. As an illustration, we can cite the actual incidence of cluster reduction as found in a previous study of this phenomenon reported by Wolfram (1969:57-74).

Environment	Example	Percent Reduced
Following Consonant, Basic Word	wes(t) road	97
Following Consonant, -ed	guess(ed) five	76
Following Vowel, Basic Word	wes(t) end	72
Following Vowel, -ed	guess(ed) at	34

Table 2. Percentage of Consonant Cluster Reduction in Different Combinations of Environmental Influences for Working-Class Black Detroit Speakers

The highest percentage of reduction is observed, as expected, where both of the influences favoring the operation of the rule are found, namely, with a following consonant and the cluster as part of a base word; the lowest frequency, equally predictably, is found where neither of the factors favoring reduction are found, namely, with a following vowel in a cluster formed through the addition of the *-ed* suffix. The important cases for determining the relationship of the influences are, however, those where the influences conflict; that is, where a following consonant, which favors reduction, is combined with a *-ed* formed cluster, which inhibits it, and a base word cluster, which favors reduction, is combined with a following vowel, which inhibits it. When these are compared, we find that the effect of the following consonant appears to be greater than that of the base word cluster, as indicated in the progressive pattern of reduction for the combination of influences. The relationship of the influences is readily seen by placing them in a hierarchical display such as the following:

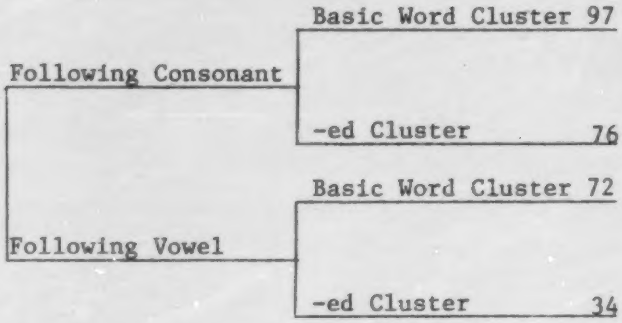

Following Consonant
Basic Word Cluster 97
-ed Cluster 76
Following Vowel
Basic Word Cluster 72
-ed Cluster 34

Figure 5. Correct Hierarchical Arrangement of Linguistic Influences on Consonant Cluster Reduction

If the hierarchical display were arranged so that the influence of the base word clusters was considered the more important influence, the hierarchical display would not match the progression in frequency, as in Figure 5.

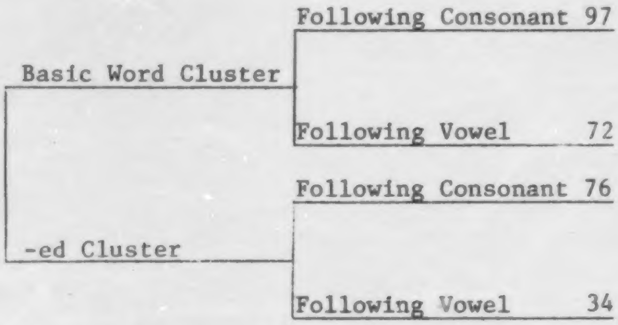

Basic Word Cluster
Following Consonant 97
Following Vowel 72
-ed Cluster
Following Consonant 76
Following Vowel 34

Figure 6. Incorrect Hierarchical Display of Linguistic Influences on Consonant Cluster Reduction

Whenever we isolate a systematic linguistic influence on the variability of a rule, we refer to this influence as a linguistic constraint. If there are two or more constraints which can be ordered with respect to each other in terms of the relative importance or their effect, we refer to them as first order constraint, second order constraint, and so forth.

In many instances, the linguistic constraints and their ordering can be found to operate across different social variables, such as class, sex, and age. Thus, we see the same relations of consonant cluster reduction for different classes of Black speakers in Detroit, as indicated in Table 3.

Environment	Upper Middle % Reduced	Lower Middle % Reduced	Upper Working % Reduced	Lower Working % Reduced
Following Consonant, Basic Word	79	87	94	97
Following Consonant, -ed	49	62	73	76
Following Vowel, Basic Word	28	43	65	72
Following Vowel, -ed	7	13	24	34

Table 3. Consonant Cluster Reduction for Four Different Classes of Detroit Black Speakers (from Wolfram 1969)

The differences between the social classes seen in Table 3 are related to the actual frequency level of rule operation rather than the type of constraint or the ordering of the constraints. The important aspect of structured variability is the relationship of various constraints to variation rather than the actual frequency figures of rule operation.

There are important dimensions of structured variability as we discussed it here which relate to how one gives a formal account of the rules for a given variety. While we shall not detail them here, the theoretical recognition of such variability as originally discussed by Labov (1969) and later by Fasold (1970, 1972), Bailey (1973), and Wolfram (1973, 1974b) is an integral part of the description which comprises Part II of this study. There are, however, important considerations of variability which must also be kept in mind regardless of the level of technical description that we give for AE. For example, in a general description of AE such as that given in Chapters Three and Four, it would be inaccurate to assume that the rules of AE were categorical. But it would also be incomplete without some recognition of the systematic effect of various linguistic constraints. Although we do not give a formal account of structured variability there, these dimensions must always be kept in mind when we discuss variable aspects of the features of AE.

2.2.2 Implicational Relations

In the preceding section, we have discussed the systematic variation in the frequency with which various forms occur. This is, however, not the only way in which socially significant variation can be viewed. Another way to examine socially significant linguistic data is by looking at variation in terms of combinations of features. This approach deals with the implication of the presence of certain features for the absence or presence of others, and is therefore sometimes referred to as implicational analysis.

A relationship of implication with respect to variation in language involves the existence of one linguistic feature "implying" the existence of another. This relation holds when a form B is always present when another form, A, is found, but not vice versa. Given this relationship, we may say that "A implies B". A tabular display of this relationship may be indicated by a representation such as the following, where 1 stands for the categorical presence of a feature, and 0 the categorical absence.

A	B
0	0
0	1
1	1

Table 4. Tabular Display of an Implicational Relation

In the display given above, it is possible for neither A nor B to occur, or both A and B to occur, but if only one occurs, then it must be B. That is, A implies B since A can never occur if B does not also occur. If the situation were such that A occurred when B did not, then the implicational relation between A and B specified above would be the opposite (i.e. B implies A).

To illustrate how this type of implicational relation specified above relates to language entities, we can consider the case of copula deletion, somewhat simplified for illustrative purposes here. It is observed that copula deletion of present tense forms such as He nice or You ugly is found to operate on both forms of the copula which come from IS and ARE. As its usage is observed among different groups of speakers, we find that there is, however, an implicational relationship between copula deletion for IS and ARE. First of all, there are some speakers who have copula deletion for both IS and ARE and there are speakers who have copula deletion for neither. On the other hand, if a speaker is to have copula absence for only one form, then it will be ARE and not IS. We therefore have an implicational relationship between IS deletion and ARE deletion, in which IS deletion implies ARE deletion. The tabular arrangement for this would then be as in Table 5.

IS Deletion	ARE Deletion
0	0
0	1
1	1

Table 5. Implication Relationships of ARE and IS Copula Deletion

In an arrangement such as this, the rows typically represent different groups of speakers, as indicated in different varieties of English. The vertical dimension, then, defines the relationship among different varieties of English.

An implicational relation such as this can, of course, be much more extensive than what we have portrayed in Table 5, so that we may have many more items which are a part of an implicational array. For example, we shall see in our discussion of irregular verbs in AE (cf. Part II, Chapter 7) that there is an implication relation which relates to eight different parameters. This may be represented in a tabular arrangement such as follows:

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Table 6. Model for an Implicational Array Involving Eight Different Linguistic Entities

In this type of arrangement, there is an implicational relationship in which the existence of A implies B, B implies C, C implies D, D implies E, E implies F, F implies G and G implies H. Although this may appear to be a rather extensive implicational relationship, language often shows this type of detail in terms of its organization.

In the discussion so far, we have described implicational arrays as if they pertained only to categorical usage. That is, either a given form will always occur or it will never occur. In the light of our previous discussion of variability in Section 2.2.1, however, we know that there is an important variable dimension which is a part of language. This variability can be built into implicational analysis by recognizing a category of variability. If we symbolize variability between features as X, we may then have three values, categorical absence 0, categorical presence 1, and variability between presence and absence X. We may, then, for example, have a display such as the following:

A	B	C	D
0	0	X	X
0	X	X	X
X	X	X	X
X	X	X	1

Table 7. Tabular Arrangement of Implicational Scale Including Variability

For some of the features in this scale, we find categorical presence or absence, whereas for others we only find a variable parameter. There is, in addition, an implicational relationship which pertains to variability, when variability characterizes two or more successive entities in a particular row. For example, we find that all four entities in the third row of Table 7 show variability. In a situation like this, there is an implication that the frequency is greater (that is, closer to categorical 1) for those features to the right of a given variable entity and less for those to the left. For example, in the third row, we find that the frequency in D will be greater than that in C, which in turn will be greater than that found for B, which will in turn be greater than that found for A. Thus, we see an implicational pattern which relates to the variable parameter as well as to the categorical aspect. It is also noted that not all the logical possibilities in this three-valued display in Table 7 need be realized in terms of how language systems function at a given point in time. For example, Table 7 above actually characterizes the structure of the variability of final consonant cluster reduction as we discussed it in Section 2.2.1. This pattern is found in Table 8, which shows the relationship that various varieties of English may have in terms of consonant cluster reduction when the environments discussed previously are delimited. In this table, we distinguish four different environments for consonant cluster reduction, and the relationship to each other as found in different varieties of English. The environments are: (1) an -ed formed cluster followed by a vowel, (2) a base word cluster followed by a vowel, (3) an -ed cluster when followed by a consonant, and (4) base word cluster when followed by a consonant.

-ed __V	Base Word __V	-ed __C	Base Word __C
0	0	X	X
0	X	X	X
X	X	X	X
X	X	X	1

Table 8. Implicational Array for Consonant Cluster Reduction Including Variability and Categoricality

As indicated in Table 8, there are varieties (most typically standard English) which have no deletion when followed by a vowel and variable deletion when followed by a consonant. However, when followed by a consonant, there is more reduction when the cluster is part of a base word as opposed to a cluster formed through the addition of an _-ed_ suffix. On the other end of the continuum, there are varieties of English (some varieties of Vernacular Black English) where there is categorical reduction when a base word cluster is followed by a consonant and variable reduction in all other environments. A progressive dimension in the relationships of these variable environments is also found. After the categorical environments, the most frequent incidence of reduction will occur when an _-ed_ formed cluster is followed by a consonant, the next most when a base word cluster is followed by a vowel, and the least when an _-ed_ formed cluster is followed by a vowel. The inclusion of this dimension into an implicational array allows us to fit the picture of systematic variability discussed in Section 2.2.1 into a framework in which the variable relationships can be seen as a part of the total picture.

In the preceding discussion of implicational relations, we have only included those items which are structurally related. For example, _IS_ and _ARE_ as given in Table 5 are related to the structural process of copula deletion and the linguistic environments given in Table 8 are all related to consonant cluster reduction. Entities which enter into implicational relations may include particular linguistic rules, classes of forms which may occur, and various linguistic environments. It is, however, possible to draw up implicational relationships between linguistic entities which are not structurally related. For example, we observe that there is an implicational relationship between the incidence of _a_-prefixing (cf. Section 4.1.1) and the occurrence of unstressed _ing_ forms as _in_ (cf. Section 3.7.3) even though these are related to different linguistic structures. It is observed that if _a_-prefixing takes place, it implies that we will categorically get the _in_ form as opposed to the _ing_ form (e.g. one gets forms like _a-workin_, but not _a-working_). In non-_a_-prefixed cases, _in_ may fluctuate with _ing_. Thus, we see an implicational relationship between _a_-prefixing and the categorical use of _in_, features which are not linguistically related.

There are two important reasons for considering implicational relations of the type we have described above in the treatment of a variety such as AE. In the first place, it provides a framework for viewing relationships of entities which comprise the system. And, as a variety of English which shows relationships with other varieties of English, it often allows us to see where AE fits in terms of the continuum of English dialects. Implicational relationships, then, may provide a picture of the relative linguistic distance between AE and other non-mainstream varieties of English and standard English. We thus find a systematic basis for comparing various dialects of English.

A second reason for investigating the implicational relationships relates to language change. Language change is an ongoing, dynamic process which takes place in a systematic way. One way of observing various stages in the process of change and which steps may have preceded or will follow a given stage is to look at the implicational relationships. For example, consider the case of intrinsic h in words such as hit for it and hain't for ain't (see Section 3.6). At one point in the English language, h was found for these items in both stressed and unstressed syllables. The presence of h then apparently became variable in unstressed syllables while remaining categorical in stressed ones. At the present time in AE, it is found to appear mostly in stressed syllables, but we may find speakers who have some incidence of h in items which do not receive primary stress. If, however, speakers have this "intrinsic h" in less stressed syllables, then it implies that they will also have it, and to a greater extent, in primary stressed syllables. Eventually, however, before being lost, it will only occur in stressed syllables. We may represent the various stages as follows, where 1 indicates the categorical presence of h, X the fluctuation between presence and absence, and 0 categorical absence.

	Unstressed Syllables	Stressed Syllables
Stage 1	1	1
Stage 2	X	1
Stage 3	X	X
Stage 4	0	X
Stage 5	0	0

Table 9. Stages of Language Change for Intrinsic h in it and ain't

The implicational relationships as seen above then represent the stages in the change of this item through time. We know historically that Stage 1 and 2 existed, and we still may find speakers who are in the latter stages of 3, a number of speakers in Stage 4 and some in Stage 5. Implicational relations, then, give important insight into how languages change systematically with respect to various items, showing the direction of previous change and predicting how future changes may proceed.

2.3 The Description of AE

In the preceding section, we have attempted to provide the framework on which the following description of AE is based. There are, of course, important implications of the model we discussed which relate to linguistic theory (cf. Labov 1969, Fasold 1970, Bickerton 1971, Bailey 1973, Wolfram and Fasold 1974), although we have not specified them here in detail. It should not, however, be thought that these pertain to matters only of linguistic theory, for there are ways in which this model is essential for viewing the general description of AE given in Chapters Three and Four. The various features we account for in the subsequent chapters must be seen in terms of the systematic effects that the social and linguistic constraints have on the relative frequency of the items, if we are to arrive at an accurate picture of AE. And, as we shall see, there are some educational implications of the data we describe which are related to the model that we have assumed for their description.

The implicational relations found among linguistic entities are also essential in accounting for AE within the continuum of linguistic diversity in American English. Dialects do not stand alone as isolated entities but show systematic relations to other dialects in the continuum of linguistic diversity. One way of seeing this picture accurately, therefore, involves a consideration of implicational relations. For example, there are a number of cases in which we summarize the relation of AE with respect to other non-mainstream varieties and standard English through an implicationally arranged table. As mentioned previously, this type of arrangement also relates to the observation of change in progress within AE, putting it into a dynamic perspective. Certain changes, for example, may be expected and are, in fact, imminent based upon the current status of forms we have found in AE. Such information is important in terms of understanding where AE has come from and where it may be going. This knowledge, furthermore, has important consequences in terms of developing educational strategies which make use of the linguistic description we outline here.

2.4 Toward a Definition of Appalachian English and Standard English

Throughout this description, we have used the term Appalachian English (AE) in a rather loose way. Like terms used with reference to other non-mainstream varieties, this designation is somewhat of a misnomer which needs to be qualified. Ultimately, we would have to restrict our use of the term to the particular variety of English which we have found in the region of Appalachia studied here. Even within this context, however, the designation needs to be qualified since there are obviously differences within the region we are discussing. Our focus has been on the working-class rural population, so that our restricted interest would preclude many middle-class speakers from the region who do not use the forms that we account for here. Specifically, then, we use the term AE to refer to the variety of English most typically associated with the working class rural population found in one particular region of the Appalachian range. Although this qualification is necessary, there is evidence, both from our own informal comparisons of working-class speakers from other rural areas and available descriptions of other sections of Appalachia, that many of the features we describe here have relatively wide distribution within the central Appalachian range. In our designation, we have chosen to err in the direction of generality, realizing that we may have created a somewhat fictitious designation. As shall be seen in Chapters Three and Four, there are differing varieties even with the restricted definition of AE we give an account of here.

There may be some question as to whether it is justifiable to differentiate an entity such as AE from other (equally difficult to define precisely) varieties of American English, particularly some of those spoken in the South. Quite obviously, there are many features we have described here which are not peculiar to speakers within the Appalachian range. On the other hand, there also appear to be a small subset of features which may not be found in other areas. Even if this is not the case, however, we may justify our distinction of AE on the basis of the combination of features. It is doubtful if other southern varieties of English that may compare favorably to what we have designated here as AE share the particular set of features in the way that they are found within regions of Appalachia. Fully cognizant of the pitfalls found in any attempt to attach terminological labels to varieties of English, we shall proceed to use the designation AE as a convenient, if loosely-defined notion.

Of necessity, the description of what we designate here as AE is made with reference to some comparative norm. It would be a prohibitive and, indeed, a redundant task to describe for AE all those aspects of this variety that are identical to those found in mainstream varieties of English.[1] It thus becomes necessary to decide what aspects of the complete system we choose to describe. For the most part, the normative guide for our description is what we may refer to as *informal standard American English*. (Reference to the standard English throughout the remainder of this work should be interpreted in terms of this norm.) The notion of informal standard American English is to be distinguished from what is sometimes referred to as *formal standard English*. Formal standardization is described by Wolfram and Fasold as follows:

> Formal standardization refers to what is prescribed for a language by grammar and usage books, dictionaries, ortheopical guides, and language academies. Invariably, these formal codes are drawn up so that almost no one speaks the standard language. Formal standardization is based on the written language of established writers, which automaticaly limits it to the most formal style of older, highly educated people.
>
> (1974:19)

Given the removed, prescriptive nature of formal standard English, it does not appear to be useful to appeal to it as a comparative norm in highlighting the features of AE. Informal standardization, on the other hand, is a more difficult notion to define, since it is based on the actual language behavior of speakers, including aspects of the variable parameter we have discussed above. On one level, it may be a rather individualistic notion, so that one person may consider it to be standard, depending on a person's subjective reactions to particular language forms. But on another level, there are certain unifying aspects which may help us arrive at a more workable definition of informal standard English. As has been noted by Wolfram and Fasold (1974:21), in every society there are people who are in a position to use their judgments about what is good and bad in language in making decisions which affect other people (e.g. school teachers and employers in American society). Since their judgments about language affect people's lives, our notion of informal standard English refers to the informal standard language of people, like teachers and employers, who are in a position to make such decisions about language appropriateness. This definition must, however, be qualified by noting that it assumes that such individuals will not enforce language forms that are not actually used by themselves. To the extent that the speech of an educated West Virginian speaker differs from that of an educated Bostonian, we may speak of differing varieties of informal standard English. Some of these regional types of differences will also be discussed in what follows, particularly as they contrast with northern varieties of English. Given such flexibility, which we point out at various intervals in our description of the features of AE, we must hasten to point out that there are many grammatical and phonological features that uniformly would be rejected as nonstandard by educated speakers in all parts of the country.

CHAPTER TWO

FOOTNOTES

1. "Mainstream" will be distinguished from "standard" (and "non-mainstream" from "non-standard") in the following way. When we speak of particular forms of a language, they can be considered to be "standard" if they conform to the type of informal norms discussed in this section. To characterize a variety of the language, the terms used will be "mainstream" and "non-mainstream", which indicate more accurately the social factors that enter into this kind of label. It follows that mainstream varieties include predominantly standard linguistic forms, while non-mainstream varieties have varying degrees of non-standard usage. Standard English is, then, an artifact containing only standard forms which is represented by a number of mainstream varieties.

CHAPTER THREE

PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter and the next, we present an overview of the linguistic features of AE. In Chapter Three the phonological aspects of this system will be discussed and in Chapter Four we will deal with grammatical aspects of AE. Of necessity, our description has had to be somewhat selective, so that there are aspects of AE that have not been discussed here. We have, however, attempted to highlight the major aspects of this system which may differentiate it from other varieties of English.

As will be seen in this and the following chapter, there are often intricate and complex rules that govern the various forms found in AE. In many cases, the rules governing these forms can be shown to have a relationship with rules found in other varieties of English, differing in relatively minor ways. It should be apparent that differences between AE and other varieties of English are highly systematic and regular; in no sense can AE be considered as an unworthy or haphazard approximation of more socially prestigious varieties of English. Some features of AE, however, have taken on social significance, so that many of the variants discussed here may be socially stigmatized. Social stigma is attached to a particular language form not because of any inherent structural weakness of the form itself, but because of the relative social position of the speakers who use the form.

The description that follows includes a number of the features of AE which are retentions of forms that at one time were more generally characteristic of a number of varieties of English. In these cases, changes affecting other varieties of English may not yet have taken place in AE. We must be careful, however, to avoid statements which simplistically relegate AE to an earlier stage in the development of the English language, since there are also cases where some of the features of AE may be candidates for new developments in the grammar and phonology of American English. To some, it may seem unlikely that stigmatized forms of a language should be candidates for future developments, because of their current rejection by those who are in a social position to set language norms. But it should also be noted that the most formal styles of best-educated speakers are the most conservative with respect to linguistic innovation, so that new developments do not always or even usually begin with the upper classes. Of course, those speakers in a position to set norms for socially acceptable language must ultimately accept such innovations, so that the number of changes introduced by the non-mainstream groups may be limited, and their eventual establishment as part of the standard language a slow process. No doubt, there are features that we discuss here which some day will be considered as a part of the standard phonology and grammar of American English. We find, then, that it is possible for a variety such as AE to preserve some older forms of English while at the same time revealing progress beyond the current development of standard English in other aspects of the system.

In the discussion that follows, we have attempted to give a linguistically accurate, but non-formal account of the various features of AE that we describe. This particular orientation is taken in order to provide a useful reference document for language arts specialists, reading specialists, speech pathologists, and educators, as well as a description that may be of use to linguists. More formal accounts for some of the features discussed here can be found in the various references cited in our description. In addition, several features not discussed in adequate technical detail elsewhere have been treated more comprehensively in the latter chapters of this report. Obviously, the depth of the technical analysis underlying the various features differs from item to item. Since it was not feasible to examine the speech of all informants for each of the variables treated, various subsets of the total sample were utilized in many cases. These subsets differ in number and composition in terms of individuals included The selection criteria was informal, however, and based largely on considerations of distribution by age and sex, quality of tapes, amount of speech, and other practical matters during the course of analysis. In each case, however, it is felt that a representative sample resulted. There are some aspects of our description based on a considerable amount of formal analysis, while there are others still awaiting more detailed investigation. We view this description from the perspective of an ongoing project, which can be complemented and revised on the basis of additional investigation.

3.1 Consonant Clusters

3.1.1 Consonant Cluster Simplification

The simplification of word-final consonant clusters or blends is one of the features which has occupied considerable attention in recent studies of social dialects. When we speak of consonant cluster simplification or reduction here, we are referring to the deletion of a stop consonant such as *t*, *d*, *p*, or *k* when they follow another consonant at the end of a word.

It is important to distinguish two basic types of clusters that are affected by this type of reduction. First, there are clusters in which both consonants in the cluster are an inherent part of the same word. Thus, when this reduction process operates, words like *test*, *hand*, *desk* and *wasp* may be produced as *tes'*, *han'*, *des'* and *was'* respectively. A second type of consonant cluster has a final *t* or *d* resulting from the addition of an *-ed* suffix to a word. It should be noted that when the base form of a word ends in a consonant other than *t* or *d*, the addition of an *-ed* ending usually results in a consonant cluster. The cluster will end in *d* if the preceding consonant is a voiced sound (such as *m*, *b*, *z* in words like *rammed* [ræmd], *rubbed* [rəbd] or *raised* [rezd] and *t* if the preceding consonant is a voiceless sound (such as *p*, *s*, *k* in words like *ripped* [rIpt], *missed* [mIst], or *looked* [lUkt]). (This kind of alternation in forms due to the nature of sounds in the environments is called phonological conditioning.) In a number of studies of social dialects, it has been observed that consonant cluster simplification applies as well to clusters resulting from the addition of the *-ed* suffix, so we may get forms like *ram'*, *rub'*, *raise'*, *rip'*, *miss'*, and *look'* for *rammed*, *rubbed*, *raised*, *ripped*, *missed*, and *looked* respectively. The list of clusters affected by consonant cluster reduction and the examples of the two types of simplification are given in Table 10, taken from Wolfram and Fasold (1974:130). In this table, Type I refers to those clusters that do not involve *-ed* and Type II represents clusters that result from the addition of the *-ed* suffix. Where logically possible combinations are omitted from the list, the cluster does not occur word-finally in English (e.g. *šp*, *šk*, etc.).

It should be noted that the table does not include all the possible clusters involving a final stop. Clusters such as *mp* (*jump*, *ramp*), *lt* (*colt*, *belt*), *ŋk* (*crank*, *rank*), and *lp* (*gulp*, *help*) are not affected by

Phonetic Cluster	Examples	
	Type I	Type II
[st]	test, post, list	missed, messed, dressed
[sp]	wasp, clasp, grasp	
[sk]	desk, risk, mask	
[št]		finished, latched, cashed
[zd]		raised, composed, amazed
[žd]		judged, charged, forged
[ft]	left, craft, cleft	laughed, stuffed, roughed
[vd]		loved, lived, moved
[nd]	mind, find, mound	rained, fanned, canned
[md]		named, foamed, rammed
[ld]	cold, wild, old	called, smelled, killed
[pt]	apt, adept, inept	mapped, stopped, clapped
[kt]	act, contact, expect	looked, cooked, cracked

Table 10. Consonant Clusters in Which the Final Member of the Cluster May be Absent (*Where there are no examples under Type I and Type II, the cluster does not occur under that category.)

this process. Some linguists have suggested that the process does not operate on these clusters due to the fact that one of the members of the cluster is voiced (e.g. m in an mp cluster) and the other voiceless (e.g. p in the mp cluster). Other linguists have suggested that the reason it does not affect these clusters is due to the fact that the lateral l or nasals m, n and ŋ are not realized as true consonants when preceding certain voiceless sounds. While linguists disagree as to the reason for the failure of some clusters to be affected by this process simplification, they are in basic agreement as to those clusters that can and cannot undergo simplification.

A certain amount of consonant cluster reduction is typical of standard varieties of English as well as those considered to be nonstandard, but the conditions for the deletion of the final member of a consonant cluster tend to be somewhat different. In most standard varieties of English, the final stop consonant is deletable when the following word begins with a consonant. This means that we would get forms like res' stop, col' cuts, or tes' case. When followed by a vowel, however, the final member of the cluster is usually present, so that we might get rest afternoon, cold egg, and test over.

In many cases, differences between varieties of English with respect to final consonant cluster simplification turn out to be quantitative rather than qualitative. That is, differences are based on the frequency with which simplification is observed to occur rather than the categorical (i.e. 100 per cent) incidence or non-incidence of simplification as such. In this regard, it is important to note that there are two major linguistic constraints which affect the frequency of simplification. One constraint relates to the presence of a following consonant or vowel. All studies of this phenomenon have shown that simplification is much more frequent when the following word begins with a consonant than when it begins with a vowel. As mentioned above, for some varieties the rule for reduction may operate only when a consonant follows. Another constraint is related to the presence or absence of the *-ed* suffix. If the cluster is an inherent part of a word, simplification tends to be more frequent than when a cluster is formed by the addition of the *-ed* suffix. Thus, simplification in *We will have a gues' for dinner* would be expected to be more frequent than *We guess' the wrong answer*, although a degree of simplification may be found in both contexts.

With the variable nature of word-final consonant cluster simplification and the two main constraints on this process in mind, we can now look at the simplification of clusters as revealed by a small subset of our sample of AE speakers. In Table 11, the observed number of simplifications is given for each of the main contexts cited above out of the total number of clusters that might have been simplified. Figures are given for six representative speakers in this table.

As indicated in Table 11, consonant cluster reduction in AE is largely restricted to contexts where the following word begins with a consonant. The incidence of simplification when the following word begins with a vowel is relatively small but it does occur to some extent. Although a further breakdown of the different types of clusters is not included in the figures given, it should be noted that the majority of clusters which have been simplified before a vowel include clusters like *ld*, or a nasal *m*, *n* and *ŋ* plus *d* rather than a cluster involving an *s*-like (i.e. sibilant) sound such as *st*, *sht*, *sk* or *zd*. The latter type of cluster tends to remain relatively intact before a vowel and cumulative tabulation of these types of clusters for the informants given above indicates that less than seven per cent of all sibilant plus stop clusters are simplified before vowels. In fact, one is impressed with the high frequency of *st* retention before vowels. Even items like *just*, reduced to *jus'* in many casual standard English varieties, may sometimes retain the *t* in AE.

Inf No.	Age/Sex	Not -ed Followed by Consonant		-ed, Followed by Consonant		Not -ed, Followed by Vowel		-ed, Followed by Vowel	
		No. Simp/T	%	No. Simp/T	%	No. Simp/T	%	No. Simp/T	%
36	27/F	17/21	81.0	11/16	68.8	2/20	10.0	3/47	6.4
31	67/M	35/45	77.7	12/17	70.6	6/28	21.4	2/39	5.1
2	13/M	29/36	80.6	8/12	66.7	6/21	28.6	1/16	6.3
64	15/F	26/38	68.4	5/9	55.6	5/22	22.7	1/17	5.9
48	9/M	11/14	78.6	11 /16	68.8	3/34	8.8	3/52	5.7
77	11/F	30/46	65.2	9/14	64.3	4/25	16.0	1/31	3.2

Table 11. Consonant Cluster Reduction for Six Representative Speakers

In the preceding discussion, a crucial breakdown of linguistic environment was made between a following consonant and vowel. This does not actually cover all the relevant types of following environment since it is possible for a potential consonant cluster to occur at the end of an utterance (e.g. Did you get some rest?); that is, followed by a pause. One of the interesting aspects of other studies of final cluster reduction relates to whether a following pause behaves more like a following vowel or consonant in its effect on clusters, since there are apparently dialect differences in this regard. For example, Fasold (1972:67) has shown that in Vernacular Black English, the simplification of clusters before pauses tends to approximate the frequency levels observed when the following environment is a consonant, while Guy (1974:39) concludes that pause functions more like a vowel in its effect on consonant clusters for White Philadelphia speakers. A cumulative tabulation of our six speakers indicates that 24.5 per cent of all potential clusters before a pause have been simplified, suggesting that in AE the effect of a following pause is more like that of a following vowel than a following consonant.

Although it is quite clear that AE favors retention of intact clusters when the following word begins with a vowel, there are several exceptions to this pattern which seem to relate to individual lexical items. For example, the form kept and, in some instances, except categorically ends in p rather than a pt cluster. These patterns relate to particular words as such and do not appear to be part of a general pattern in which clusters are reduced before vowels, since we do not observe the type of structured variability revealed by other clusters.

At this point, we may compare consonant cluster simplification in AE with that which has been observed in some other varieties of American English. These include several northern urban varieties from Detroit (adapted from Wolfram, 1969:62, 68) and New York City (from Labov, et al. 1968:147), and two southern rural varieties (adapted from Summerlin, 1972:97-98). Figures are broken down according to the two important constraints on the frequency of simplification given above. Although slightly different procedures for tabulation were utilized in the different studies, these figures are still useful for a rough comparison.

	Not *-ed*, Followed by Consonant	*-ed*, Followed by Consonant	Not *-ed*, Followed by Vowel	*-ed*, Followed by Vowel
	% Simp	% Simp	% Simp	% Simp
Middle-Class White Detroit Speech	66	36	12	3
Working Class Black Detroit Speech	97	76	72	34
Working-Class White New York City Adolescent Speech	67	23	19	3
Working-Class White Adolescent, rural Georgia-Florida Speech	56	16	25	10
Working-Class Black Adolescent Rural Georgia Florida Speech	88	50	72	36
Southeastern West Virginia Speech	74	67	17	5

Table 12. *Comparison of Consonant Cluster Reduction in Different Regional and Social Varieties of American English*

Table 12 indicates that AE, as represented by our speakers from southeastern West Virginia, is most comparable to the various standard and nonstandard White varieties indicated in the table. This is particularly true with respect to the effect of a following vowel which strongly inhibits the simplification of clusters. Before a following consonant, however, simplification is quite frequent, like most other standard and nonstandard varieties of English. The only surprising aspect of simplification before a following consonant is the relatively high frequency of simplification involving *-ed* clusters preceding a word beginning with a consonant. On the whole, consonant cluster reduction in AE does not appear to be particularly socially diagnostic and speakers from different age and social group levels do not differ significantly from each other in terms of the extent of simplification.

3.1.2 *Final Consonant Clusters and Plurals*

In most varieties of English, the "regular" plural represented in spelling by *-s* or *-es* actually takes several different forms in pronunciation, depending on the final segment of the base word. (Again, this is a type of phonological conditioning, like that discussed for the *-ed* suffix in 3.1.1.) If the item ends in a voiced sound other than an *s*-like sound (i.e. a sibilant sound such as *s*, *z*, *sh* or *zh*) the plural is produced like a *z*. That is, the plural formation of items like *bud*, *ham*, *bee* and *tub* would be produced something like *budz* [bədz], *hamz* [hæmz], *bees* [biz] and *tubz* [təbz] respectively. If the item ends in a voiceless sound other than an *s*-like or sibilant sound, the plural is produced as *s*, giving us items like *kits* [kIts], *racks* [ræks] or *maps* [mæps]. When the item ends with a sibilant, however, the plural is formed by adding a vowel plus *z*, giving us *buzzes* [bəzIz], *busses* [bəsIz] or *bushes* [bUsIz] for the singular forms *buzz*, *bus*, and *bush* respectively. For some speakers of AE, there is a slight modification on the conditions under which the *-es* or [Iz] plural may be added. In addition to the occurrence of the [Iz] plural produced on items which end in a sibilant, this plural form may occur when the sibilant is followed by a stop such as *t*, *p*, or *k* at the end of a word. That is, the [Iz] plural may be added to items ending in *sp*, *st* or *sk*, resulting in forms like *deskes* [dɛskIz], *ghostes* [gostIz], or *waspIz* [waspIz] for *desks*, *ghosts*, and *wasps* respectively. We thus get the following examples from various speakers:

(1) a. She stretched it all across the deskes [dɛskIz] and everything. 1:28[1]

b. ...cause people tell you it's ghostes [gostIz]. 9:(994)

c. ...you could see ghostes [gostIz]. 28:32

d. ...I really like roastes [rostIz] or the steak. 38:14

The occurrence of the -es or [Iz] plural form following st, sk, or sp in AE seems to be a special condition on the regular plural formation. Other dialects seem to use this formation in different ways. For example, in Vernacular Black English as described by Wolfram and Fasold (1974:132), it is noted that the predominant form of plural formation for forms ending in st, sk, or sp in Standard English eliminates the final stop and adds the [Iz] plural. We thus get forms like desses [dɛsIz], ghosses [gosIz], and wasses [wasIz] as the predominant plural rather than the forms we cited above for AE. Only occasionally do forms such as deskes or ghostes turn up in a dialect like Vernacular Black English, and these occurrences are attributed to special conditions which arise when speakers attempt to learn standard English.

> Attempting to learn Standard English pluralization patterns, speakers will sometimes pluralize words like desk and test as deskes and testes, respectively. These forms result from a tendency to pluralize the same words in the same way, even when the cluster is maintained intact. This is an example of structural hypercorrection...
>
> (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:132)

While such forms may be accounted for in this manner in other varieties such as Vernacular Black English, the predominance of forms like deskes and testes in AE does not make this a plausible explanation in this case. It is forms like desses and tesses which are quite rare among AE speakers who have fully acquired their language. We thus conclude that the -es or [Iz] following consonant clusters results from a regular and integral difference on the conditions for the addition of plurals in AE when compared with standard English and some other social and regional varieties of American English.

Because the addition of the [Iz] plural following sp, st or sk appears to be socially stigmatized, it is more characteristic of working class than middle-class speakers. Even among working-class speakers, however, its use is somewhat selective and it is apparently now used less frequently than it was at an earlier period. A more frequent production of clusters like *st*, *sk* or *sp* that include a plural marking involves a lengthening of the duration of the *s* preceding the stops *t*, *k* and *p* and a retention of the stop, resulting in forms like *ghosst* [gos:t], *tesst* [tɛs:t] and *wassp* [was:p] for *ghosts*, *tests* and *wasps* respectively. Examples of this pronunciation are given below:

(2) a. ...even though some people don't believe in *ghosst* [gos:t] some do. 7:19

b. They's *ghosst* [gos:t] that come up out the grave. 16:(817)

c. ...cause you don't have to worry about homework and *tesst* [tɛs:t]. 150:19

It should be noted that the production of clusters involving *sts*, *sks* or *sps* at the beginning or end of a syllable involves fairly complex articulatory movements for the speaker of any dialect, due to the transition from an *s* to a stop *t*, *k* or *p* and then back to *s* within the same syllable. Speakers may deal with this complexity in several ways since there is a natural tendency to avoid such complex transitions in casual speech style. One way, of course, is to insert a vowel to break up the transition, as in the case of *testes* or *ghostes* cited previously. Another alternative is to simply eliminate the stop *t*, *k* or *p* and lengthen the *s* so that you get something like *ghoss* [gos:], *tess* [tes:] or *wass* [was:]. There are a number of dialects of American English that seem to favor this pronunciation (e.g. Vernacular Black English, which favors consonant cluster reduction to a much greater extent than AE, prefers this production when avoiding the more stigmatized forms like *tesses* and *ghosses*). Another alternative is to lengthen the *s* and retain the original *t*, *k* or *p*. This is the option most often chosen by AE speakers when not using socially stigmatized forms such as *testes* and *ghostes*. The lengthened *s* followed by a stop carries no apparent social stigma.

3.1.3 Intrusive *t* in Clusters

We previously described a process whereby certain consonant clusters may be simplified or reduced in AE. Such simplification, it was seen, is a regular process which takes place to some extent in all varieties of American English. Although the general process of simplification operates as described previously, it should be noted that there are certain clusters in AE not typically found in a number of other varieties of English. That is, there are words that end in clusters in AE which do not end in clusters in other regional and/or social varieties of English. For the most part, this feature is restricted to a small set of items, including once, twice, across and cliff. In this variety, they may be produced with a final t, so that we get oncet [wənst], twicet [twa^{i}st], acrosst [əkrɔst], and clifft [klIft] respectively. Following are examples of these items with the inclusion of the final t.

(3) a. Four could only get on the barrel at oncet. 73:2
b. ...oncet a day. 69:(267)
c. ...feed him twicet a day. 37:7
d. ...seen him twicet every week. 56:(44)
e. I got out there and I started acrosst... 22:10
f. I got them two acrosst... 22:11
g. ...ever which way I'd go it was a clifft. 17:17
h. ...and there's a big clifft. 34:(450)

Quite clearly, the presence of t on these items is related to earlier forms which developed in British English dialects and simply survived in current American English dialects as more archaic forms. Items like oncet and twicet seemed to develop along with a set of items like amidst, amongst and against during an earlier period of English. Some historical sources (e.g. The Oxford English Dictionary) suggest that the item acrosst developed from a blending of across and crossed several centuries ago. The pronunciation of clifft for cliff, was related to the form which eventually became the word cleft in modern English (at an earlier stage, cleft was clift). Although some sources attribute the form clifft to a confusion between cleft and cliff during the 16th century, it may also be hypothesized that these items originally broke off from the same item and evolved in different directions. Whatever the etymology for this item, the production clifft must be considered as a particular case of retention from an earlier period.

The presence of t on the items cited above is still fairly common among different age and social groups from Appalachia, and does not appear to be particularly stigmatized as such. Following the regular pattern for cluster simplification, it can be observed that the presence of t in these items is considerably more frequent when the following item begins with a vowel than when it begins with a consonant.

In addition to the fairly regular pattern of so-called "intrusive *t*" in items such as those cited in (3), there are occasional instances where *t* may be found on other items, as illustrated by the following examples:

(4) a. We're very *closet*. 29:10
b. ...even though you're *closet*. 29:11
c. ...that's the best *stufft* you ever eaten. 31:31
d. ...up at the top of the *hillt*. 51:5
e. ...I'[illegible] die of a heart *attackt*. 37:29
f. ...but any wild animal will *attackt* you if you corner it. 40:42

Cases such as those illustrated in (4) appear to be formed by analogy with other types of intrusive *t* patterning and may be a type of hypercorrection. Whereas the examples given in (3) are observed quite regularly among different speakers, those given in (4) tend to be quite idiosyncratic.

3.2 Copula and Auxiliary

3.2.1 Copula Absence

Another phenomena of some non-mainstream varieties of English that has been very thoroughly studied is the deletion of the present tense forms of the copula. Although copula and auxiliary deletion (see also 3.2.2) are often thought of as grammatical features, we include them here since detailed technical analyses have shown them to be a result of phonological processes. Copula deletion has been described for Vernacular Black English by Labov (1969), while a comparison of this phenomenon in Vernacular Black English and White southern speech has been offered by Wolfram (1974b). In Labov's seminal article on copula deletion, he argued that copula absence in sentences like *He ugly*, *The men gonna do it*, etc., resulted from a deletion rule which operated on the output of contraction (i.e. *He is ugly* → *He's ugly* → *He ugly*). To summarize, it was concluded that wherever the contraction of *is* and *are* could take place in standard English, a variety such as Vernacular Black English could delete the copula, and wherever standard English could not contract, Vernacular Black English could not delete it. That is, deletion could take place in sentences such as those given above since it corresponded to a contractable form in standard English, but it could not take place in sentences where the full form of the copula was required, such as with the past tense (e.g. *He was home yesterday* but not *He home yesterday*), in clause-final position (e.g. *I know that's what they are* but not *I know that's what they*), or in non-finite constructions (e.g. *They want to be good* but not *They want to good*).[2]

Wolfram's (1974b) study of copula deletion among White southerners in Mississippi indicates that there are both important differences and similarities between a variety such as Vernacular Black English and White southern speech. With respect to the deletion of *are*, the White southern speakers differed mainly in the frequency levels which *are* was deleted, typically showing lower frequency levels of deletion than those found in Vernacular Black English. Many of the White southern speakers, however, did not have *is* deletion at all, thus differing qualitatively from speakers of Vernacular Black English.

One of the interesting questions regarding AE is how it compares to other southern varieties of English and Vernacular Black English in the operation of copula deletion. In order to answer this question, we have analyzed in some detail the incidence of copula deletion for 15 different speakers in our corpus, supplementing this detailed analysis with observations from all the speakers in our corpus. The 15 subjects for whom we studied copula deletion in some detail were chosen to represent a cross-section of age and sex differences among the working class subjects in our sample.

To begin with, we may note that copula deletion for *is* does not typically take place in AE. In this respect, it is more like other southern White varieties of English than Vernacular Black English, although, as noted above, there is a subset of White speakers in the deep South who do have *is* deletion to a limited degree. AE does not, however, have a corresponding subset of speakers for whom *is* deletion operates even to a limited extent. The deletion of *are* does take place to some degree in AE but it does not completely parallel the way it operates in whole varieties investigated in the deep South. In the analysis of copula deletion in the deep South by Wolfram 1974b), it was shown that *are* deletion may typically take place following noun phrase (e.g. *the men ugly*) as well as a pronoun (e.g. *you ugly*) but in

AE it is found to operate only when following a pronoun. That is, we do not typically find examples such as The men ugly. Examples of copula deletion following pronouns such as we, you, and they are given in (5).

(5) a. We _interested in baseball. 22:1
b. We _just dreamin'. 1:15
c. You _playin' right here. 74:2
d. Man, you _crazy. 4:5
e. They _afraid. 159:23
f. They _good and straight. 30:12

In previous studies of copula deletion, it has been demonstrated that there are important linguistic constraints that influence the relative frequency of deletion. Among these is the structure that follows the copula. Both Labov, for Vernacular Black English, and Wolfram, for White southern speech in the deep South, have shown that there is a continuum in which the following types of constructions show a progressively greater relative effect on copula deletion:

Predicate Nominative (e.g. You a man)
Predicate Adjective (e.g. You nice)
Predicate Locative (e.g. You in the woods)
Verb + ing (e.g. You standing there)
Special lexical form gonna (e.g. You gonna like it)

Previous studies have shown that the greatest incidence of copula deletion will be found with the lexical item gonna and the least with predicate nominative constructions.

With this information in mind, we may now look at the incidence of copula deletion of are for the 15 speakers we have examined here in detail. Table 13 indicates the actual incidence of copula deletion in relation to the potential cases where it might have taken place. The breakdown is given in terms of the occurrence in those types of constructions delimited above. Table 13 is arranged in terms of rank frequency, with the totals for those subjects who have some incidence of are deletion separated from those subjects who do not indicate copula deletion at all.

There are several important observations to be made on the basis of Table 13. In the first place, we note that there is considerable range in the incidence of are deletion, ranging from 2/3 out of all cases deleted to no deletion at all. Unlike other varieties, such as some varieties of White

INF No.	Age/Sex	___Nom.	___Adj.	___Loc	___Verb-ing	gonna	Total	
		No. Del/Tot	No. Del/Tot	No. Del/Tot	No. Del/Tot	No. Del/Tot	No. Del/Tot	% Del
164	33/M	0/1	9/14	2/3	3/3	--	14/21	66.7
85	78/F	--	--	--	2/2	0/1	2/3	66.7
74	11/F	0/2	1/2	0/1	2/4	1/1	4/10	40.0
4	13/M	0/2	1/2	0/3	--	1/1	2/8	25.0
156	20/F	--	1/3	--	2/11	--	3/14	21.4
146	52/F	0/1	2/13	0/1	1/6	1/1	4/22	18.2
31	67/M	0/4	1/11	--	2/5	0/2	3/22	13.6
40	39/F	0/3	1/6	0/5	1/8	1/3	3/25	12.0
154	13/F	1/1	0/5	0/2	--	0/2	1/10	10.0
64	15/F	--	0/10	1/1	0/6	--	1/17	5.9
151	18/F	0/4	0/13	1/2	0/12	--	1/31	3.2
TOTAL		1/18	16/79	4/18	13/57	4/11	38/183	
% Del		5.6	20.3	22.2	22.8	36.4	20.8	
Speakers With No Incidence of ARE Deletion								
51	10/M	0/1	0/4	0/1	0/1	0/8	0/15	0.0
77	11/F	0/1	0/4	0/1	0/3	0/1	0/10	0.0
7	17/M	--	0/2	0/1	0/1	0/2	0/6	0.0
2	13/M	0/1	--	--	--	0/1	0/2	0.0

Table 13. Incidence of Copula Deletion for are in the Spontaneous Speech of 15 AE Informants

southern speech in the deep South and Vernacular Black English, there are no informants who have categorical are deletion. On the other hand, there is a subset of speakers for whom copula deletion does not take place at all. The overall incidence of are deletion following pronouns is considerably less than that found in the deep South variety of non-mainstream English studied by Wolfram (1974b). In fact, the frequency of copula deletion for are following a pronoun was over three times greater in Wolfram's study than that observed here. When this limited frequency range is considered along with the fact that there is no deletion of is and no deletion of are following noun phrases, we get a picture of the limited extent to which deletion is found in AE. While the overall picture emerges in which copula deletion is restricted in AE, it is interesting to observe that there are occasional speakers who have are deletion to a considerable extent. Quite clearly, there are several different varieties of AE with respect to the deletion of are. However, no clear-cut social variables emerge which can account for these different varieties. For example, all of the informants in Table 13 would be considered "working class" according to current indices for assessing social status, yet there is still considerable range of are deletion among them. And, while younger speakers tend to be less prone to have extended copula deletion than the older generation, the age differentiation is not clear-cut. Furthermore, an attempt to correlate the differences in terms of specific geographical location within the counties in West Virginia studied here does not turn up a clear-cut pattern.

Within the range of copula deletion in AE, it is important to note that the same general constraints on its variability observed in other studies are found for AE. That is, the greatest incidence of deletion is found with gonna, the next greatest with verb -ing forms, the next with predicate locatives, the next with predicate adjectives, and the least with predicate nominatives. This is a pattern which has been duplicated in virtually every study of copula deletion, regardless of the particular variety of English.

We may summarize how copula deletion operates for various non-mainstream varieties of English in the table given below. In the table, 1 indicates the categorical operation of copula deletion (i.e. it is deleted wherever it is possible to delete it), X substantial but non-categorical incidence of the deleted form, x limited fluctuation of the deleted form with the non-deleted one, and 0 the presence of only the non-deleted form.

	IS	ARE	
		NP__	Pro__
VBE	X	X	1
SWE_1	x	X	1
SWE_2	0	X	1
SWE_3	0	x	X
AE_1	0	0	X
AE_2	0	0	x
AE_3 and NWNE	0	0	0

VBE	Vernacular Black English
SWE	Southern White English
AE	Appalachian English
NWNE	Northern White Non-Standard English

Table 14. *Varieties of Non-Mainstream English with Respect to Copula Deletion*

What we see in Table 14 is a continuum of varieties with respect to copula deletion in American English. The most divergent variety from standard English is Vernacular Black English and the closest to standard English is White northern non-mainstream varieties. The varieties of AE fall between these extremes, more removed from standard English than most northern White varieties but not as divergent as Vernacular Black English and White southern varieties found in the deep South.

3.2.2 *Auxiliary Deletion*

Varieties of English share a process which allows auxiliary forms (such as *have* and *will*) to be contracted in many circumstances. The operation of this process results in forms like *he's* for *he has* or *he is* and *you've* for *you have*. Contraction, particularly when the auxiliaries are paired with pronouns, is very common in most styles of speech. Some varieties, in addition, allow certain of the auxiliary forms to be deleted. In AE, it is possible to delete the auxiliary *have*, in constructions like:

(6) a. First time I ever *been* out in the woods with a gun. 10:11
b. I think she *been* down here maybe twice. 85:6
c. Well, I've just been lucky I never *been* bit. 159:31

This process of deletion occurs variably, even within the same utterance as in (6c), and is more frequent in some situations than others.

Auxiliary _have_ deletion is most common when the _have_ combines with _been_, as in the utterances in (6). It is found with a few other verbs in the corpus, however, but much less often. These cases include:

(7) a. That was the prettiest tree that ever he _seen_. 157:18
b. I _seen_ several pictures in the paper where people _been_ snake-bitten. 37 29
c. I've got a horse, saddle horse and we take it and I _got_ another horse, quarter horse... 7:4

It is somewhat difficult to determine which of the utterances of this type are in fact cases of _have_ deletion. Due to the variation that exists in past tense forms of verbs, the actual shape of the verb cannot be assumed to be the deciding factor, since it could, in some cases, represent the simple past tense (see Section 4.1.3 for discussion). In the case of _got_, (7c), the form could represent either the standard past form or the deletion of _have_ from _have got_. Surrounding context must help in deciding whether a form is derived from _have_ deletion or not.

Like contraction of auxiliaries, deletion is favored when preceded by a pronoun, but this is not an absolute restriction on the process, as seen in (8):

(8) a. These girls _been_ there for a long time. 17:(190)
b. One of 'em _been_ averaging about 20 points a game. 87:(1048)

The pronoun constraint has also been found to influence the deletion of copula forms (see 3.2.1). Finally, it can be observed that _have_ deletion occurs for the most part in main clauses, with a few exceptions like (9):

(9) They'd a knowed right there, you know, what to _done_. 36:10

Since the past tense can be represented by _have_ in infinitival forms as in (9) above, it seems likely that the deletion process operated to produce this construction.

When the term "auxiliary deletion" is used, this refers to a combination of processes, not simply deletion of the full form of _have_. The rules that result in contracted forms first apply, giving, for example, _I've been_; then the contraction _'ve_ is deleted, resulting in _I been_. The absence of _have_ in a surface form is, then, due to the operation of phonological rules. This sequence accounts for the fact that deletion in non-mainstream varieties typically takes place only in those cases where contraction in standard English is possible (as in the case in copula absence). Thus, we do not find contraction or deletion in sentences like (10):

(10) a. If anybody's been there, they have.
b. *If anybody's been there, they've.[3]
c. *If anybody's been there, they.

An exception to this restriction seems to be in questions, where the auxiliary form can be deleted even though contraction is impossible. For example, sentence (11) is a report of a direct question:

(11) She said, "Well, how long you been up?" 6:21

This process is also common in informal standard English, and occurs with other auxiliaries in addition to have, as pointed out by Wolfram and Fasold (1974:160). It results in direct questions like "What you (whatcha) been doing?" (have deletion) and "You going home?" (are deletion).

It has been noted (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:158) that different varieties of English may extend auxiliary deletion to forms other than have, including will and would. There is evidence (see Section 3.3.2) that AE permits auxiliary deletion of modals such as will and would, although apparently not to the extent that it may be found in a variety such as Vernacular Black English. Cases such as will and would, however, appear to be derived through the operation of a different set of phonological processes which may affect contracted forms.

3.3 R and L Deletion

3.3.1 R-lessness

The deletion of r is a characteristic of a number of different varieties of American English. To a large extent, r deletion, often referred to as "r-lessness", closely correlates with geographical distribution, although the parameter of social class invariably intersects with regional distribution to some degree. The incidence of r-lessness is quite sensitive to word or syllable position, and varieties of American English can be differentiated on the basis of the types of contexts in which r-lessness occurs. At the beginning of the word, r is always present in all varieties of American English, as in run or rob. In other positions, however, r is sometimes "vocalized" and pronounced something like uh (phonetically close to the schwa [ə]). While there are many cases in which a phonetic vestige of the r remains, there are also some contexts where there is no phonetic residue of the r at all (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974:149).

AE participates to a limited extent in the deletion of r (which we shall use here to refer to both those cases where there remains a phonetic vestige of the r and those where no vestige remains although only the latter case is observed in AE) but in ways which are somewhat different from that found in other varieties. One of the main contexts in which r-lessness has been observed is post-vocalic position. We may therefore look at one aspect of r-lessness in AE by examining deletion patterns in post-vocalic position for a representative group of speakers.

In Table 15, figures for r-deletion are given for 10 different speakers from our corpus. These figures are broken down according to several different contexts in which post-vocalic r might occur. First of all, post-vocalic r deletion is tabulated within a word when followed by a consonant (e.g. beard, start, court). This context is differentiated from word-final position, where several different subclasses are delimited. In word-final position, a distinction is made between those items occurring in stressed (e.g. before, prepare, four) and unstressed (e.g. father, camper, regular) syllables. Within the categorization on the basis of stress, a further distinction is made between those items which are followed by a vowel in the next word (e.g. before eight, father asked, regular animal) and those followed by a consonant (e.g. before five, father brought, regular guy). The delimitation of different contexts such as these appears essential to understanding various contextual influences on the relative frequency of r-deletion. For each of the contexts delimited above, 15 items were tabulated for each of the informants. The table is arranged according to the rank frequency of r deletion.

The picture of post-vocalic r-lessness which emerges from Table 15 is fairly clear-cut. It is observed that there is little r-lessness within a word when followed by a consonant. The figures are so low that we can rule out this characteristic as an integral part of AE as spoken in this region. There may, however, be a few lexical items in which an r-less form corresponds to an r-full form in other varieties of English (e.g. futhuh for further) but these are apparently lexical differences. Although we

Inf No.	Age/Sex	Within Word		Word Final								Total	%Del
				Stressed Syllable				Unstressed Syllable					
		___C		___##V		___##C		___##V		___##C			
		No D/T	%D	No D/T	%D	No D/T	%D	No D/T	%D	No D/T	%D		
85	78/F	1/15	6.7	1/15	6.7	2/15	13.3	3/15	20.0	11/15	73.3	18/75	24.0
164	33/M	1/15	6.7	1/15	6.7	1/15	6.7	3/15	20.0	8/15	53.3	14/75	18.7
40	39/F	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	4/15	26.7	7/15	46.7	11/75	14.7
77	11/F	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	1/15	6.7	3/15	20.0	6/15	40.0	10/75	13.3
4	13/M	0/15	0.0	1/15	6.7	0/15	0.0	3/15	20.0	5/15	33.3	9/75	12.0
64	15/F	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	2/15	13.3	6/15	40.0	8/75	10.7
154	13/F	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	1/15	6.7	1/15	6.7	5/15	33.3	7/75	9.3
51	10/M	0/15	0.0	1/15	6.7	0/15	0.0	2/15	13.3	4/15	26.7	7/75	9.3
152	64/F	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	4/15	26.7	4/75	5.3
31	67/M	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	0/15	0.0	2/15	13.3	2/75	2.7
TOTALS		2/150	1.3	4/150	2.7	5/150	3.3	21/150	14.0	58/150	38.7	90/750	12.0

Table 15. Incidence of Post-Vocalic r Deletion Among Appalachian English Speakers

have not tabulated r-lessness within a word when followed by a vowel, we have observed in our corpus occasional instances in which an r may be absent intervocalically (e.g. du'ing for during, ba'el for barrel, ma'y for marry). While the incidence of such items is quite infrequent and limited to very few speakers, the occurrence of such forms at all is somewhat surprising given the overall preference for retaining r within a word. In other studies of non-mainstream varieties, such cases have been found only when a great deal of r-lessness in other contexts was characteristic of the variety.

Table 15 also indicates that r-lessness does not appear to be an integral part of this variety for the cases where r occurs in a word-final stressed syllable. The figures show too low a level of deletion to consider this type of r-lessness as an essential characteristic of the variety. In word-final unstressed syllables, however, a somewhat different pattern emerges. We find that r-lessness does occur to some extent, although it is much less frequent than the levels of r-lessness found in many other varieties of English which are characterizied by post-vocalic r deletion. As has been found in other studies of post-vocalic r deletion, the deletion of r is strongly favored when the following segment is a consonant as opposed to a vowel. We conclude, then, that post-vocalic r-lessness is found to a very limited extent in this variety of AE, largely restricted to word-final position in unstressed syllables. We should be careful not to extend this observation to other areas within Appalachia, since this may be a feature that is quite sensitive to regional differences within this territory.

Our discussion of r-lessness in this variety of AE should not be concluded without mentioning post-consonantal r-lessness. It is noted that post-consonantal r absence has been observed in several specialized contexts. One of these contexts is in an item preceded by th and followed by a round vowel such as o or u. We thus get examples such as th'ow for throw and th'ough for through. (Note that we do not observe post-consonantal r absence in items like three or prone.) The incidence of this r-less pattern is surprisingly high, especially in light of the fact that post-vocalic r-lessness is so restricted. Many speakers who show very infrequent post-vocalic r-lessness consistently reveal r-lessness in items like throw and through. It may be, however, that there are simply a few lexical items in which this pattern is related to the particular word rather than a productive pattern of post-consonantal *r*-lessness. The other context in which post-consonantal *r*-lessness may take place is in an unstressed syllable, where we occasionally get items like *p'ofessor* or *p'otect* for *professor* and *protect* respectively. Here again, we are dealing with a limited number of items which may actually be affected by this process, but there does appear to be a generalizable phonological context which can account for the absence of *r*.

3.3.2 *L-lessness*

The vocalization of *l* (a vocalized *l* sounds like *oo* with *l*-coloring) or its complete deletion is also possible in different varieties of American English, although this characteristic has been studied much less extensively than *r*-lessness. Like *r*-lessness, this phenomenon is most typically found in various post-vocalic positions. In fact, most studies report it exclusively in this context. Analogous to *r*-lessness, AE participates in this process to a very limited extent, so that we may occasionally get vocalization in items such as *table*, *battle*, *candle*. Although *l* vocalization is quite restricted, it is interesting to note that there are contexts in AE where *l* may be completely deleted. If the following segment is a labial sound such as *p*, *b*, or *f*, *l* may be completely deleted. This occurs in items such as *wolf*, *help* or *shelf*, making words such as *woof* and *wolf*, *hep* and *help* or *chef* and *shelf* homophonous. Somewhat like the relationship between different aspects of *r*-lessness discussed in the preceding section, this is somewhat different from our expectations, since we would expect that the complete loss of *l* before labial sounds would correlate with a relatively high incidence of other types of *l* vocalization. What we find, however, is a system in which there is relatively little post-vocalic *l* vocalization but which allows a specific environment for *l*-deletion.

Some aspects of grammar may be attributable to the loss of *l*. The most important of these concerns the loss of *l* on a contracted form of the future modal *will*. We may occasionally get examples such as *Tomorrow, he be here*, accounting for the use of *be* as an indicator of future time. This construction, then, would not be due to a grammatical process, but would instead be a result of the phonological process of *l*-deletion.

3.4 th

3.4.1 th Sounds

There are actually two sounds that are represented by the spelling th in English. One of these sounds is a voiced apico-dental fricative sound in words such as this, either, or bathe; the other is a voiceless apico-dental fricative sound in words such as thing, ether, or tooth. Words such as thy and thigh are pronounced identical except for these initial sounds, the former being the voiced and the latter the voiceless consonant. Both of these sounds have alternate pronunciations in non-mainstream varieties as well as variants that may be acceptable in standard English.

At the beginning of a word, the most notable socially diagnostic pronunciations involve the corresponding stops for ð, (the phonetic representation for the voiced apico-dental fricative) and θ (the phonetic representation for the voiceless apico-dental fricative). There are cases in most non-mainstream varieties of English where ð may be produced as d and θ something like t. We should, however, note that the corresponding stops are not exactly identical to the d of dog or the t of taught. For one, they are typically pronounced slightly more front in the mouth, being produced with the tongue tip against the back of the teeth. They are also not produced with quite as much pressure as the stops of dog or taught. In the case of t, the characteristic puff of air, called aspiration, following the t of taught, is also not present. AE is like most other varieties of non-mainstream English in allowing the pronunciation of the corresponding stops for ð and θ, except that they do not appear to be quite as frequent as in some other varieties. The lower frequency of the stop counterpart for ð may be due, in part, to the greater frequency of initial ð's which may be deleted completely (cf. Section 3.5.2). In the case of θ, there simply appears to be a lower frequency of t for θ, especially as compared with some northern White varieties.

It has also been observed that there are non-mainstream varieties of English where the corresponding stop production may occur in the middle of a word between vowels. This is especially true to ð, where it may become d in items such as mother, brother or bother. The stop pronunciation is less frequent at the end of a word, but it can also occur in items like lathe or bathe. This particular pronunciation is not found to any extent in AE, and the majority of ðs that occur intervocalically or at the end of the word are pronounced as they would be in standard varieties of English.

There is another nonstandard variant for θ in word medial and final position which is occasionally found in AE, namely, f. We therefore observe the following types of examples from some AE speakers.

(12) a. He shoots this juice stuff in your mouf and it numbs your mouf. 17:10
b. ...if I get back wif 'er. 9:(395)
c. I had a birfday party. 20:(203)
d. ...in a phone boof. 123:(180)
e. ...it took off a-rollin' wifout that woman in it. 124:(490)

This particular variant has been found in other non-mainstream varieties of English, and is particularly prominent in Vernacular Black English. Its distribution in AE is somewhat different from Vernacular Black English in that it is found much less frequently and appears to be more age-graded. That is, it is typically found to a limited extent among younger AE speakers. For example, the examples given in (12) are all from subjects between the ages of 11 and 16. Even among younger speakers, it is found much more sporadically than it would be found in a variety such as Vernacular Black English. It is noted only rarely among older speakers of AE, mainly in the item with.

3.4.2 th Contiguous to Nasals

There is a rule in AE whereby a voiceless th sound (phonetically [θ]) may be produced as a t next to a nasal segment. This rule is quite like a rule found in other non-mainstream varieties of English. The process changing th to t accounts for the fact that arithmetic, month, or nothing may be pronounced as aritmetic, mont' or nutt'n respectively. With respect to the item nothing, it is observed the th is not immediately followed by a nasal segment in standard varieties of English. In non-mainstream varieties of English, however, the vowel of the -ing sequence is deleted, leaving a syllabic nasal following the voiceless th. This change must take place before the rule changing th to t can operate, since it is dependent on the nasal segment immediately preceding or following the sound.

3.5 Initial Segments

3.5.1 Unstressed Syllable Deletion

In casual speech styles, most varieties of English allow the deletion of some unstressed initial syllables. This process may affect both standard and non-mainstream varieties of English but the extent to which the process operates differs somewhat, depending on the variety. In casual spoken standard English, speakers may delete the initial vowel of prepositions or adverbs like *around* or *about* so that they become *'round* and *'bout* respectively. This is a fairly common phenomenon and is apparently not socially stigmatized. Likewise, an initial consonant and vowel (i.e. *CV*) or vowel plus consonant (i.e. *VC*) syllable may be deleted, giving items like *'cause* and *'til* for *because* and *until* respectively. Sentences like (13) are not at all uncommon in the casual speech style of most standard English speakers:

(13) a. He liked him *'cause* he was nice.
b. He went *'til* he was exhausted.
c. He told her *'bout* the book.
d. It took her *'round* three years.

While AE speakers are like most standard English speakers in their ability to delete these initial unstressed syllables, the process is somewhat extended in AE. This extension applies to both the classes of items (e.g. nouns and verbs) which are included in the operation of this process and the sequences of unstressed initial syllables that can undergo this deletion. For example, consider the range of unstressed word initial syllables in Table 16 which can be deleted in AE.

In Table 16, we note that similarities and differences in the process of initial unstressed syllable deletion found in AE and the process which we would expect in the casual speech style of many standard English speakers. For example, unstressed *be-* deletion is quite common with the item *because* in standard English, but it would occur rarely if ever with an item like *before*. Similarly, we expect initial unstressed vowel deletion in adverbs or prepositions like *'bout* and *'round* in standard English but it is not nearly as typical in nouns like *'lectrician* or *'mergency*. We further note that the list is expanded to include sequences like *re-*, *su-*, *po-*, *to-* and even *con-*. Sequences of this type are not typically subjected to the initial unstressed syllable deletion rule in most standard English varieties. The deletion of some of these sequences has, in fact, become rather stereotyped

Initial Unstressed Sequence	Examples
a/e	Kids should be 'llowed to hear that. 22:2 He's a 'lectrician. 30:31 'mergency 68:(58) 'ccordin' to what size they are. 159:24
un-	I stood there 'till her husband come home. 35:42 She won't get in the 'frigerator 'lessn I do. 17:14
be-	I've throwed 'em out 'fore he got here. 35:28 It's 'tween each individual. 28:28 He done lived there a year or two 'fore I knowed. 22:19
re-	I don't 'member. 36:7 She won't get in the 'frigerator 'lessn I do. 17:14
su-	And the professor 'posed to been Cary Grant. 15:(535) I don't 'spect that you'd want to hear it. 39:(243)
po-/to-	...it just has 'tatoes in it. 47:5 ...corn, 'maters, tatoes. 50:(41)
con-	He 'fessed up and made the people take notice. 11:(988)

Table 16. Illustrative Examples of Initial Unstressed Syllable Deletion in AE

in AE. For example, items like 'taters and 'maters for potatoes and tomatoes respectively can certainly be considered to be stereotypes, and they are sometimes the topic of comment by outsiders and even by some speakers of AE themselves. In fact, one of the informants in our sample responded to an interviewer's question as follows:

Fieldworker: What are some of the things people grow here in their gardens?
Informant: Oh, potatoes and tomatoes - or did you want me to say 'maters and 'taters?
31:4

In Table 17, we have tabulated the incidence of unstressed initial syllable deletion for 13 of the subjects in our sample. In presenting this table, it is necessary to make two distinctions, since these distinctions may affect the relative frequency with which unstressed initial syllable deletion takes place. First of all, we distinguish between the type of syllable the initial unstressed sequence is, delimiting initial V and CV sequences. The second distinction concerns the type of sound that precedes the initial unstressed syllable. A preceding vowel (i.e. where the preceding word ends in a vowel, such as the 'lectrician) is distinguished

		Initial V						Initial CV							
		Preceding Consonant		Preceding Vowel				Preceding Consonant		Preceding Vowel				Overall Total Deletion	
Inf No.	Age/ Sex	No Del/ Tot	%	No Del/ Tot	%	Total	%	No Del/ Tot	%	No Del/ Tot	%	Total	%		
31	67/M	6/36	16.7	4/13	30.8	10/49	20.4	2/6	33.3	2/6	33.3	4/12	33.3	14/61	22.9
83	93/F	6/21	28.6	4/5	80.0	10/26	38.5	0/6	0.0	0/3	0.0	0/9	0.0	10/35	28.6
85	78/F	6/17	35.3	8.14	57.1	14/31	45.2	5/18	27.8	0/2	0.0	5/20	25.0	19/51	37.3
153	83/F	14/37	37.8	10/13	76.9	24/50	48.0	3/10	30.0	1/1	100.0	4/11	36.4	28/61	45.9
22	60M	17/48	36.4	8/11	72.7	25/59	42.2	6/13	46.1	3/5	60.0	9/18	50.0	34/77	44.2
152	64/F	11/44	25.0	5/8	62.5	16/52	30.8	2/15	6.7	1/3	33.3	3/18	16.7	19/70	27.1
157	52/F	9/33	27.3	8/15	53.3	17/48	35.4	0/14	0.0	3/8	37.5	3/22	13.6	20/70	28.6
30	50/M	7/27	25.9	8/10	80.0	15/37	40.5	2/21	9.5	3/10	30.0	5/31	16.1	20/68	29.4
44	15/M	12/25	48.0	5/5	100.0	17/30	56.7	9/16	56.3	2/2	100.0	11/18	61.1	28/48	58.3
124	11/M	11/24	45.8	6/6	100.0	17/30	56.7	3/6	50.0	-/-	--	3/6	50.0	20/36	55.6
146	52/M	14/35	40.0	5/7	71.4	19/42	45.2	3/12	25.0	0/2	0.0	3/14	21.4	22/56	39.3
2	13/M	15/31	48.4	3/6	50.0	18/37	48.6	8/11	72.7	3/4	75.0	11/15	73.3	29/52	55.7
29	33/F	23/51	45.1	6/12	50.0	29/63	46.0	5/20	25.0	1/3	33.3	6/23	26.0	35/86	40.7
TOTALS		151/429	35.2	80/125	64.0	231/554	41.7	48/168	28.6	19/49	38.8	67/217	30.9	298/771	38.7

Table 17. Unstressed Initial Syllable Deletion

from a preceding consonant (i.e. where the preceding word ends in a consonant such as bad 'lectrician). In each case, the number of actual instances of unstressed initial syllable deletion is tabulated out of all the possible cases in which it might have taken place. Thus, a case like the 'lectrician is tabulated as an instance of actual deletion while a case such as the electrician would be counted as a potential case in which deletion was not realized.

Several important observations can be made on the basis of Table 17. To begin with, we note that the frequency range of unstressed initial syllable deletion typically falls between 20-60 per cent. While this is a fairly wide range of deletion, it is important to note that this phenomenon is quite variable. There are no speakers who never delete unstressed initial syllables. Differences between speakers are found only in terms of frequency levels. We also note that there is a quite regular effect related to the preceding context; a preceding vowel regularly favors the deletion of the unstressed syllable over a preceding consonant. That is, we are more likely to get a form like He's the 'lectrician than He's a bad 'lectrician. This may be attributed to the fact that there is a natural preference in language to separate successive consonants with an intervening vowel. Finally, we should note that the deletion of an initial V syllable is generally preferred over the deletion of CV sequences. That is, we are more likely to get deletion in a form like 'lectrician for electrician than in a form like 'frigerator for refrigerator. The CV sequence appears to be more stable in its resistance to the operation of this deletion rule.

While our previous discussion has focused only on unstressed initial syllables, it should be observed that there is a related phenomenon in which an unstressed schwa vowel [ə] within a word can be deleted. This process, like the one discussed above, is found to some extent in the casual speech style of all varieties of English, but it appears to be extended somewhat in AE. Items like s'posta for supposed to, prob'ly for probably, rel'tive for relative and (A)mer'ca for America are all accounted for by this general process. The exact difference between the operation of this process in AE and its operation in casual spoken standard English, however, remains to be studied.

3.5.2 Deletion of Initial ð

In most varieties of English, the initial segment of some words beginning with *ð* (typically spelled *th*) can be deleted. The number of words actually beginning with *ð* is relatively small in English, but some of these may occur with considerable frequency in conversation. Included in the inventory of items beginning with *ð* are the demonstratives such as *this*, *that*, *these* and *those*, third person plural forms such as *they*, *them* and *their*, the comparative form *than*, and the form *there*, which may function as a locative (e.g. *It's up there*) or an existential pronoun (e.g. *There are five students who passed*). All of these forms may undergo *ð* deletion under some circumstances. In this regard, they are different from other forms beginning with *ð*, such as *thus* and *though*, which appear never to delete the *ð*. In between these extremes are forms such as *then* and *the* where the initial *ð* may be absent under restricted conditions to be discussed below.

In examining this deletion phenomenon as it occurs in many mainstream varieties of English, it is necessary to specify certain conditions which appear to enhance deletion. To begin with, we must note that it is something which tends to take place in relatively fast, informal speech. It is not nearly as characteristic in slower, more formal styles of speech. Within the context of casual speech, there are linguistic factors which affect the relative frequency of initial *ð* deletion. One of these factors is stress. The deletion of *ð* is much more characteristic when the form is unstressed than when it is stressed; in fact, it appears that it cannot take place when the form in question receives strong or emphatic stress. We thus get *ð* deletion in sentences like (14a), but not typically (14b):

(14) a. He'll stop *'em*.
b. He'll stop *them*, but not me.

It is observed that *ð* deletion is much more characteristic of some forms like *them* as opposed to a form like *that*, a fact which may be related to relative degrees of unstress. We thus get a sentence such as (15a) more frequently than a sentence such as (15b):

(15) a. Will you kick *'em* for me?
b. Will you kick *'at* for me?

There is also an effect related to the preceding segment, so that a preceding consonant appears to favor the deletion over a preceding vowel. That is, deletion is more frequently found in a sentence like (16a) than it is in a sentence like (16b):

(16) a. I thought he would pick *'at* up.
b. I thought he would do *'at* for me.

Finally, it is observed that this type of deletion is more characteristic in the middle of a sentence than it is at the beginning of a sentence. We find sentences like (16a) more common than (17):

(17) ...*'at's* all I can say.

This effect may, of course, ultimately be due to the different types of stress that may be assigned to forms at the beginning of a sentence, but it appears that there are some mainstream varieties where sentence initial *ð* is deleted only rarely, if at all. (The exception to this is certain set phrases such as *Atta boy* or *Atta way*.) While there are more detailed effects that might be cited (cf. Christian 1973), these constitute the main constraints which affect the relative frequency of *ð* deletion in the casual style of some mainstream varieties of English.

The deletion of *ð* in AE operates in much the same way as in mainstream varieties, except that it has been somewhat extended in its application. Examples of *ð* deletion for the forms mentioned above are given in sentences (18) through (21):

Demonstratives (*this*, *that*, *these*, *those*)

(18) a. I done filled up on *'is* ham. 84:(439)
b. And this boy grabbed a great big cinder block -- 'bout like *'at* and throwed *'at* in on me. 2:3
c. She's get on *'ose* skates. 84:(697)

Third Person Plural Forms

(19) a. You could pick *'em* good while *'ey* was hot. 85:8
b. But *'ey* wasn't right *'at* day. 84:(107)

Comparative *than*

(20) a. You can't bat more *'n* one eye at a time. 146:19
b. I mean things are gettin' worser anymore *'n* what they used to be.[4]

Locative and Existential *there*

(21) a. *'ere's* 'at high priced knife, Chester. 84:(37)
b. They said they's gonna ride up *'ere*, get on Sukis, push 'em up to the top of the hill up *'ere*. 20:(1259)

Most of the AE examples cited in (18) through (21) are, of course, also found in casual mainstream varieties of English. There are, however, some differences between mainstream varieties and AE in their use of ð-deletion. One difference is found in the increased frequency with which it occurs in AE. The deletion of ð appears to be more frequent in AE than it is in many mainstream varieties of English. As a function of this increased frequency, there is also greater likelihood that it may be used to some extent even in more formal styles of speech. Another difference between ð deletion in AE and other mainstream varieties is in the expansion of contexts in which it occurs. We previously mentioned that ð deletion does not usually occur in more stressed contexts in mainstream varieties of English. We find, however, that this constraint is not as strong in AE as evidenced by sentences like (22):

(22) a. You wanna use 'ís or you wanna use 'át. 84:(46)
b. ...but 'át was it. 84:(1023)

Likewise, the constraint which prohibits or greatly restricts the use of ð deletion sentence initially is not as strong in AE, as seen in sentences like (23):

(23) a. 'at was Daddy's mother. 85:4
b. 'ere's 'at high-priced knife, Chester. 84:(37)
c. 'at old man jumped 'at big buck. 84:(3)

Generally, then, restrictions which are found in some mainstream varieties are not quite as strong in AE.

The case of the conjunction then and the article the is somewhat different from other types of ð deletion and there is some question as to whether it can be considered a deleted form at all. What appears is a general restriction in which the ð is absent when following a nasal sound such as n or a lateral such as l. For example, we may get utterances such as (24):

(24) a. An' 'en he started to run.
b. An' 'e one I was gonna shoot disappeared.
c. All 'e way home he cried.

What actually appears to take place in cases like (24) is a special assimilation of the initial ð to the preceding n or l (e.g. an' nen' 'and then', all 'le 'all the') rather than a complete deletion of the ð. While a preceding l and n appear to effect an increase in the deletion of ð for the forms mentioned previously (i.e. sentences (18) - (21)), a specifically defined context must be cited for the absence of *ð* in *the* and *then* to be found at all. With respect to the assimilation of *ð* when preceded by a *l* or *n*, AE does not appear to be different from fast, informal style in varieties of mainstream English.

It is interesting to note that although *ð* deletion in AE is only an extension of a general process found to some extent in all varieties of English, it has become a characteristic stereotype of the area. Literary representations often use it prominently in their portrayal of AE, and teachers concerned about mainstream norms often cite it as one of the crucial differences beteeen the AE sound system and that of mainstream varieties. Apparently, the extension of this process in the ways mentioned above has been sufficient to make it a matter for overt comment.

3.5.3 *Deletion of Initial w*

In most varieties of English, there are conditions under which the initial *w* of certain items can be deleted. Most commonly, this process affects modals such as *will* and *would*. Once the initial *w* is lost in these modals, the following vowel may also be deleted, so that we end up with a contracted form such as the following:

(25) a. He*'ll* go downtown.
b. He'*d* go downtown if he could.

In these cases, the initial *w* can be lost only when the modal is unstressed, or not in a syntactically exposed position (e.g. clause final) so that we do not find the process operating in cases like (26) and (27):

(26) a. He *wíll* go downtown.
b. He *woúld* go downtown if he could.
(27) a. He'll go downtown, I know he *will*.
b. He'd go downtown if he could, I know he *would*.

Some linguists (cf. Zwicky 1970 for details) consider the *w* deletion in cases such as these to be part of a more general rule of initial semi-vowel deletion. This general rule includes the deletion of *h* in auxiliaries, as discussed in Section 3.6 (e.g. *He's* been here). The deletion of *w* in the modals *will* and *would* is a very common phenomenon of English and is in no way socially stigmatized.

In AE, there are two additional aspects of initial w deletion which are noteworthy. These aspects are not governed by linguistic rules that are drastically different from the rules operating for mainstream English varieties as discussed above, but are simply extensions of the rule which operates to some extent in practically all varieties of English. The first type of extension involves the past form of the copula or auxiliary be form, namely was or were.[5] The examples given in (28) illustrate the extension of w deletion for was in AE.[6]

(28) a. We took off when we seen him a-runnin', he 'uz runnin' up the road a-hollerin'. 10:26

b. We 'uz sittin' up 'ere laughin', couldn't stop a-laughin' he 'uz sittin' back 'ere cryin' about 40 bees stinged him. 10:26

In cases like (28), we notice that the vowel (phonetically close to [ə]) is still retained so that only the initial w is deleted for was. Although this is a pattern that can be found to some extent in AE, a more common pattern involves the deletion of the following vowel as well, as in sentences like (29):

(29) a. ...and this boy grabbed a great big old cinder block - 'bout like 'at, and throwed 'at in on me; Boy, I'z a-hollerin'. 2:3

b. I guess they knew what they'z a-sayin'. 24:(382)

In cases such as these, we see that the contraction rule that affects modals like will and would is simply extended to was. Parallel to the restrictions on the contraction of items like will and would, this process cannot take place when the form is stressed or in syntactically exposed positions. Thus, a full form of was is required in sentences like (30):

(30) a. He wás hunting turkey.

b. He'z hunting turkey yesterday, I know he was.

It should be noted that the contraction of past tense forms of be (i.e. was), along with the regular contraction of third person singular present tense forms (i.e. he is → he's), may result in past and present contracted forms sounding identical. In both cases the actual sound of the segment left after contraction is a z-type sound, as in (31):

(31) a. Yesterday he'*z* [z] huntin' turkey.

b. Right now he'*s* [z] huntin' turkey.

The contracted forms resulting in homophony do not typically lead to a problem in distinguishing past and present tense since the surrounding context in most cases is usually sufficient to indicate which tense is intended.

The other extension of *w* deletion in AE involves the pronoun form *one* (phonetically [wən]). It is observed that when this pronoun is in unstressed position within a sentence the *w* may be deleted, giving us sentences like those in (32):

(32) a. He had eight children, I think, with the first wife, six with the second *'un*. 85:7

b. ...but she was pretty bad, you know, about bossing around the young *'uns*. 36:11

c. She just come up 'ere and whopped me a good *'un* with the paddle. 36:(40)

Like the other forms affected by *w* deletion, this operation cannot operate when the form is stressed, so that the full form is required in (33):

(33) I'll take *one*, if you take the other.

Most typically, the vowel following the *w* is retained, but it may be lost under conditions where the following nasal may become the syllabic peak, as in sentences like (34):

(34) a. I got *this'n* [n̩] at Ched's. 85:28

b. *That'n* [n̩] got away from us and then the second one. 22:20

For some speakers, the deletion of initial *w* in this pronoun may be limited to the lexical item *young 'uns*, with other unstressed contexts of *one* following patterns in most mainstream varieties of English.

The extension of initial *w* deletion that we have observed for AE seem to be characteristic of a number of varieties spoken or derived from the rural South, so that we find similar process operating in rural White varieties spoken in the deep South and in Vernacular Black English.

3.6 Initial *h* Retention in Auxiliaries and Pronouns

In the history of the English language, there were a number of pronouns and auxiliary verbs which originally began with *h*. Through a general process starting with initial *h* of unstressed forms, however, many of these items have deleted the *h*. As Jespersen notes:

> *H* tends to disappear in weak forms of pronouns and auxiliary verbs, not only in cases like *it* for *hit*, where the *h* form has totally disappeared, *'em* for old *hem* (not developed from *them*), *I've* for *I have*, *you'd* for *you had*, etc., which are frequently written, but also in the colloquium pronunciations like *if (h)e took (h)is hat*; *you must (h)ave seen (h)im*; *we see (h)er every day*.
>
> (Jespersen 1933:57)

To a certain extent, the deletion of initial *h* has affected all varieties of English.[7] In casual speech, for example, most speakers of English varieties may delete an initial *h* in pronouns and auxiliaries when they are unstressed, giving us sentences like:

(35) a. *I've* gone downtown.
b. He's seen *'im*.

While this process may operate in casual speech styles for most varieties of American English, the *h* is still typically retained even in casual speech style when the auxiliary or pronoun is stressed, either because of emphasis or because of its position in the sentence. Cases of this sort are illustrated in (36):

(36) a. I *háve* seen 'im.
b. I've seen *hím*.
c. You may not think I've seen him, but I *háve*.
d. You may think it's me, but it's actually *hím*.

In the case of the auxiliaries such as *have* and *had*, there is an additional deletion of the following vowel which results in the "contracted" form. (There are actually several other processes leading up to the contracted form which have been discussed by Labov 1969, Zwicky 1970, and Wolfram 1974b). The deletion of *h* in these forms is, of course, a quite regular process in most varieties of American English which holds no special social significance other than as a casual style indicator.

As mentioned above, the extent of *h* deletion which has resulted from this historical process may vary in different varieties of English. Thus, for example, we find that many mainstream varieties of American English have completely lost the original *h* in items like *it* (originally *hit*) and *ain't* (originally *hain't*). This, however, is not the case in AE, where *h* is still retained by a number of the older residents of the area. Thus, we still find examples such as the following:

(37) a. When the winter set in, *hit* set in, *hit's* just like in a western. 22:10
b. *Hit* was these three Billy goats. 20:(830)
c. I *hain't* got none now. 12:(186)
d. I said I *hain't* a-gonna do it. 83:23

The retention of the initial *h* in these forms is most likely to be found in the more stressed items in a sentence, and occurs rarely, if at all, in unstressed items. We have referred here to the notions of greater and lesser degrees of sentence stress since there are actually a number of degrees of stress which can be noted within a sentence. For example, in (37a) it appears that the item *hit* has a primary stress in the phrase *hit set in* whereas the stress pattern of (37b) indicates that the pronoun does not receive the degree of stress found in *Billy goats* but does receive greater stress than the remainder of the sentence. When the pronoun form is in the least stressed form in a sentence, however, the regular stress pattern for sentences such as (38), it is questionable whether the *h* can be retained.

(38) Hè boúght it.

In these unstressed contexts, the forms tend to be exactly like those found in other varieties of American English, where the *h* has been lost completely. Of course, if the stress patterns of (38) were changed to emphasize the pronominal form, the *h* could readily be retained, as in (39):

(39) Hè bought *hít*.

As implied in the previous description, the retention of *h* in forms like *it* and *ain't* is a variable matter, with the relative frequency of *h* retention sensitive to the phrase and sentence stress patterns. The general principle which appears to govern the increased frequency of *h* retention may be stated as follows: the greater the degree of stress on the pronominal or auxiliary verb form, the greater likelihood that *h* will be retained. As mentioned, *h* retention in forms such as *it* and *ain't* is something which is much more characteristic of older speakers than the younger generation. In fact, we would anticipate the complete extinction of *h* in *it* and *ain't* within a generation or two.

3.7 Features Involving Nasals

3.7.1 Consonants Preceding Nasals

In AE, as in many other varieties of English, there are a number of different processes which can affect consonants when they precede nasal segments such as m, n, or ŋ. The consonantal changes depend on the type of consonant preceding the nasal sound and, in some cases, the operation of previous processes affecting these consonants.

3.7.1.1 Voiced Fricatives Preceding Nasals

In AE, as in many other varieties of English spoken in other parts of the South and some selected regions in the North, it is observed that the z in items like wasn't, isn't, hasn't, and doesn't is realized as the corresponding voiced stop d. There are numerous instances of these variants as indicated by the following:

(40) a. They wadn't [wədn̩] a dang one of them... 31:12
b. Wadn't [wədn̩] but one house down there... 36:13
c. It's a wonder somebody didn't get hurt on it, idn't [Idn̩] it? FW2:5
d. ...dangerous with that, idn't [Idn̩] he? 2:2
e. She hadn't [hædn̩] been away from that... 31:18
f. But it doedn't [dədn̩] take but about... 40:19

The pronunciations cited above are actually the result of a more general rule whereby voiced fricatives can become their corresponding voiced stop. Voiced fricatives included in this process are z, v, and th ([ð]). The fricatives z and ð typically become d as in wadn't ('wasn't') and headn ('heathen'), whereas the v most typically becomes b as in sebm ('seven') or elebm ('eleven'). In order to understand how this rule operates, it is necessary to note that in unaccented syllables, the vowel preceding the nasal m or n may be lost, leaving the nasal immediately following the consonant. (This nasal now takes the syllabic beat usually taken by the vowel and thus becomes a "syllabic nasal".) Once the nasal sound is immediately following the fricative, it can effect the change of the voiced fricative to its corresponding stop.

A result of the process changing z to d is the reduction of contrast between the negativized past tense hadn't and the negativized present form *hasn't*. The change of *z* to *d* now allows both forms to be realized as *hadn't*. The lack of distinction between these forms is clearly due to this pronunciation rule and should not be attributed to a different grammatical use of the auxiliary *have*. The distinction between the past and present forms of *have* (e.g. *He has gone* and *He had gone*) is consistently maintained in the same fashion in AE as other varieties of English, so that the merger of *hasn't* and *hadn't* must be attributed to this pronunciation process.

3.7.1.2 Devoicing *d* to *t* Preceding Nasals

Once the voiced fricatives of items like *wasn't*, *hasn't*, *isn't* are realized as *d* due to the process described above, there is a further process which can devoice the *d* to a voiceless stop such as *t*. In most cases, this may be a momentarily unreleased *t* or a glottal stop, which is produced by a closing of the vocal bands in a rather abrupt manner. The subsequent change of *d* to *t* in *wasn't*, *hasn't* and *isn't* is part of a more general process operating on *d*'s before nasals, and affects many more items than those *d*'s that were originally derived from *z*'s. For example, it can affect items like *didn't*, *couldn't*, or *wouldn't* in addition to *wasn't*, *hasn't* and *isn't*, as in the following examples:

(41) a. No we *coultn't* [kUtn̩]. 2:5
b. She really *ditn't* [dItn̩] deserve that. 36:37
c. ...and I told her I *woultn't* [wUtn̩]. 36:36
d. It *watn't* [wətn̩] very deep. 2:12
e. ...if she *hatn't* [hætn̩] raised the blinds. 36:7
f. Well, I *hatn't* [hætn̩] got driver's license yet. 36:40

The general process of *d* devoicing before nasals is a relatively common phenomenon in AE, just as it is in some other regional varieties of English.

3.7.1.3 The Loss of *d* Preceding Nasals

In addition to the above types of options for the realization of consonants before nasal sounds, there is a further process that may operate on some of these consonants. This process involves the complete loss of a segment before the nasal sound. In actuality, it appears that the sound is completely assimilated to the immediately following nasal. Like the devoicing of *d* to *t*, this is a process which can affect a general class of items where d precedes n, not only those that were originally derived from items such as wasn't, isn't or hasn't. It can thus affect items like couldn't, wouldn't and didn't as well as those forms of z which have been changed to d. The following examples illustrate this process:

(42) a. ...I din't [dIn] try to get them. 31:32
b. ...we coun't [kUn] get down. 47:8
c. ...I woun't [wUn] care about it. 31:23
d. ...the hardest fall, in't [In] it? 31:22
e. ...I wan't [wən] gonna do nothing. 61:16

The loss of the consonant preceding a syllabic nasal causes the nasal to lose its syllabic beat. This results in a reduction of the number of syllables in the item. For example, with the realization of z, d or t preceding the n of wasn't, the item will be two syllables, waz and nt with the beat of the second syllable usually being carried by a syllabic nasal. With a loss of the consonant in the preceding syllable, however, the syllabic beat is lost from the nasal as it becomes the final segment of the preceding syllable.

The complete absence of d before n occurs somewhat less frequently than the realization of d or t before n, and is most characteristic of more rapidly spoken, casual speech.

3.7.2 The Pronunciation of Indefinite Articles

In most standard varieties of English, the pronunciation of the indefinite article varies depending on the shape of the following word. If the following word begins with a consonant, the article a (usually pronounced as [ə]) is realized. We thus get forms like a man, a fiddle or a child. If the following item begins with a vowel, however, most standard varieties use the form an (usually pronounced as [ən]), as in an apple, an ear or an accident. In AE, the form a may be generalized for both contexts, so that it can be used before both vowels and consonants, giving us forms such as a apple, a ear or a accident. While the usage of a before both consonants and vowels is characteristic of many non-mainstream varieties of American English, it appears to be less socially significant as a class differentiator in AE than it is in some Northern contexts. The relatively minor extension of a to precede all forms receives considerable attention in some cases because there is a spelling difference to match the automatic pronunciation difference maintained in many standard varieties.

In cases where the generalized article a (pronounced as a schwa [ə]) precedes a word beginning with a [ə] phonetically, it may seem that the article is not present at all. It may thus appear that we get forms such as in apartment for standard English in an apartment or He's electrician for He's an electrician. This effect is created by the fact that the initial vowel of the following word is eliminated by the initial syllable deletion rule we discussed in 3.5.1, and not due to the absence of the article. Close attention to phonetic detail will, in fact, indicate that there is a slight juncture between the article and the form which has undergone unstressed initial syllable deletion. Such sequences should then be interpreted as in (43):

(43) a. ...in a 'partment. 8:8
b. He's a 'lectrician. 30:(613)

In cases such as (43) we see that the generalized article a is intact and the following schwa is simply deleted by a different phonological rule.

3.7.3 Unstressed -ing

One of the most well known and stable socially diagnostic variables of American English is that of the so-called "g-dropping" in some words ending in ing. Phonetically, ng is actually just one nasal segment [ŋ], so that what is actually meant by the reference to g dropping is the replacement of the nasal segment [ŋ] by [n]. The in pronunciation has actually been studied in a number of different settings, and appears to be present in all varieties of American English to some extent. The main differences, then, between regional and social varieties is the extent to which this process actually takes place. It should be mentioned here that there is some historical evidence (cf. Wyld 1936 and Krapp 1925) that the most common pronunciation of this form in early modern English was apparently the in form, with the preference for the ing form gathering momentum during the late 18th and 19th centuries in some varieties of English.

The pronunciation in is heavily influenced by the stress of the syllable. In monosyllabic words that automatically receive primary stress, in is not used. Therefore, items like sing and ring will always receive the ng or [ŋ] pronunciation. In polysyllabic words in which *ing* is assigned an intermediate level of stress (that is, not primary stress, but not unstressed), it also appears that *ing* is the favored pronunciation in most varieties of English. That is, items like *anything* and *everything* will predominantly be produced with [ŋ] in most varieties of English, including AE. When the syllable containing *ing* is unstressed, however, *in* is a very common pronunciation in many varieties of English. Most frequently, unstressed *ing* involves the verb suffix in items such as *trying*, *fixing* and so forth, but it also is observed in items like *nothing* and *something*. In the case of *something*, of course, the pronunciation may involve a syllabic *m*. With regard to stress patterns, it should be noted that there may be some individual differences among speakers in terms of the differentiation between intermediate levels of stress and unstress. For example, some speakers appear to interpret the *ing* form in an item like *morning* as an intermediate level of stress and therefore do not reduce it to *in* whereas other speakers interpret it as unstressed so that they realize it as *mornin* at very high frequency levels.

In spontaneous, relatively casual conversation, the *in* form is clearly predominant in AE. While there is certainly some degree of differentiation which may be related to class or style factors, this differential does not seem to be quite as extensive as has been reported for the *ing* in alternation in other varieties of English. Fairly typical frequency levels of *n* in casual conversation style are represented by the following six speakers:

Inf No.	Age/Sex	No. *in*/Total	%*in*
31	67/M	67/71	94.4
1	13/M	113/114	99.1
64	15/F	45/53	84.9
28	42/F	56/58	96.6
124	12/M	37/37	100.0
165	57/M	114/135	84.4

Table 18. Frequency on *in'* for *ing* in Unstressed Syllables for Six Appalachian English Speakers

The range of *in* realization typically falls between 80-100 per cent of all the cases where *ing* can potentially be reduced (i.e. they are in unstressed syllables). The observed frequency of *in* forms from these speakers of AE tends to be somewhat higher than the realization of *in* forms by speakers of White northern nonstandard varieties (as indicated in studies of Detroit (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967:III, 67) and New York City (Labov 1966:396)). It is more comparable to the figures obtained for both Black and White speakers in other parts of the South (e.g. Anshen 1972:20) although it appears to be slightly more frequent than some non-Appalachian White southern varieties. The historical reasons for this, of course, may be found in the retention of the older *-in* form from earlier period of English.

In addition to the cases of *in* pronunciation for *ing*, there are cases in which the suffix *ing* does not appear to be present at all. We thus get examples such as the following:

(44) a. ...and he's shine that flashlight. 2:4
b. ...what wasn't fishing, you know, was swim. 36:27
c. ...where the water come run down. 31:19

These types of examples are found in relatively rapid speaking style and appear to occur only when the base form is a nasal sound such as *m*, *n*, or *ŋ*. In cases of this type it appears that the *in* form assimilates with the final nasal sound of the word base. This assimilation process takes place in several steps. To begin with, we note that the elimination of the vowel in *in* is relatively common in some contexts, so that the nasal sound takes the syllabic beat of the final syllable. We thus can get forms like:

(45) a. He was gettn̩ sick.
b. She was settn̩ there.

where the diacritic ̩ indicates that the nasal takes a syllabic beat. The syllabic nasal takes the syllabic beat left by the eliminated vowel. In items following another nasal, however, the syllabic nasal may be reduced further, so that it appears that the final syllable is lost entirely. In many cases, it is actually realized as a lengthened form of the nasal of the word base (phonetically [šaIn:] 'shine', [swIm:] 'swim', or [rən:] 'run') but the reduction of the syllabic beat makes it seem perceptually like there is no *ing* form at all. And, in some cases, the lengthened nasal may be further reduced so that there is, in fact, no vestige of the original *ing*.

These types of reductions are relatively restricted and not due to the grammatical loss of the ing suffix but a regular pronunciation process for the majority of speakers revealing this phenomenon.[8]

3.8 Other Consonantal Features

In addition to the consonantal features discussed in the previous sections, there are other aspects of the AE system that we might mention here briefly. One of the phonological features not discussed above is the pronunciation of stops in word-final position, when they are not in consonant clusters. In AE, as has been found for some other varieties of English, word-final voiced stops such as d, g, and b may be pronounced with a sound something like their voiceless counterparts t, k, and p respectively. Phonetically, there is an abrupt cutoff of voicing with or even a little before the stop occlusion in the mouth. In the case of d, the abrupt cut-off of voicing known as a "glottal stop" may stand by itself. Like many varieties of non-mainstream English, the voiceless stop counterpart or glottal stop is quite frequent when the final syllable of the word is unstressed, as in items such as hundred, salad, or decided. In AE, as in Vernacular Black English (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974:138) the abrupt devoicing can also occur in monosyllabic words, as in kid, rag, or cub. We may thus get these forms resembling kit, rack, or cup. Complete homophony between items like kid and kit, rag and rack, and cub and cup does not result, however, since the duration of the preceding vowel is longer in those items that have gone through "stop devoicing". That is, the vowel of an item like kit corresponding to kid would be a few fractions of a second longer than the vowel in an item like kit even though the devoicing process here may mean that both of them end in a t-like sound. Although we do not have actual figures to support our conclusion, it appears that the incidence of final stop devoicing in monosyllabic words is considerably less frequent in AE than it is in a variety such as Vernacular Black English.

There are also several consonantal features that may be socially obtrusive but affect small sets of items or individual words. For example, AE is one of those varieties of English in which some incidence of the older pronunciation of ask is retained. The pattern originally had a different sequence of the final consonants in which the k preceded s instead of following it. This older pattern is still occasionally found so that ask may be pronounced like axe. Another phonological pattern which apparently affects only a single item is the pronunciation of chimney. Two alternant pronunciations may be found in AE. It is possible to follow the m with an l, as in chimley, or have an mbl sequence as in chimbley although the former pronunciation is clearly favored in this area. There are other restricted consonant features that we might have cited here, but our focus on phonological rules which affect significant classes of items has precluded them from this discussion. Ultimately, a complete description of AE phonology must include such variant pronunciations, even if they are quite restricted in scope.

3.9 Vowel Characteristics

Although there are a number of interesting vowel differences found in AE, our discussion of the vowel system will be limited in scope. The description of vowels should, in fact, be considered as more demonstrative and approximative than complete and precise. To give a complete and precise description of AE vowels would take us considerably beyond the level of phonetic detail to which we have restricted ourselves here. There are many aspects of vowel quality that can be described only with the finest phonetic detail. Without appealing to the instrumental measurement for some of these details, our analysis might suffer from reliability in the impressionistic transcription of minute vowel differences.

Our description is also limited by the restricted geographical region which serves as the basis for our description of AE. Other aspects of the AE phonological system and the syntactic system appear to cover a wide range of territory, but there are apparent vowel differences from region to region within Appalachia. Even within the restricted locale we have studied here, there is evidence that several different vowel systems must be recognized. A comprehensive description would have to discuss different systems within their own right as well as the similarities and differences between vowel systems in the area. Certain types of vowel quality must be viewed in terms of the systematic effect that a given vowel quality has on the quality of adjacent vowels in the system (e.g. the raising of one vowel quality may have a triggering effect on other vowels in order to maintain "phonetic space" between vowels). With the above types of reservations on completeness and detail, we may proceed to our description of some selected aspects of AE vowels.

3.9.1 Glide Reduction

The pronunciation of the so-called "long" *i* used in northern varieties of English actually consists of two sounds, a full vowel such as *ah* followed by an off-glide which sounds something like *ee* (phonetically $[a^{i}]$). In many southern varieties of English, the off-glide is absent, so that an item like *pie* may be pronounced something like *pah*. The area of AE studied here participates in this reduction or loss of the *ee* glide. As found elsewhere, the absence of the off-glide is quite sensitive to the following linguistic context. It is most likely to be absent when at the end of a word as in *pie*, *sky*, or *tie*. If a consonant follows it, the glide is more likely to be absent when the following consonant is voiced, as in words such as *time*, *wide*, or *side*, than when it is voiceless, as in words such as *sight*, *kite*, *fight*. The absence of the off-glide, particularly when at the end of a word or followed by a voiced consonant, is not particularly stigmatized socially, and simply seems to be a regional characteristic. It should be noted that the absence of the off-glide does not create widespread homophony. Even when a word like *side* is pronounced something like *sahd*, it is distinguished from items like *sad* and *sod* by the quality of the *ah* vowel.

A similar situation extends to the *y* sound in items like *boy* and *boil*, where the off-glide may be deleted in AE, as in other southern varieties of American English. Here again, however, this deletion does not result in homophony since items such as *boil* and *ball* and *oil* and *all*, while closer phonetically than they are in some northern varieties, are not pronounced identically.

3.9.2 *ire* Sequences

In a number of varieties of English, sequences which are conventionally represented in spelling by *ire* (as in *tire*, *wire*, or *fire*) or alternant spellings such as *yer* (e.g. *flyer*, *buyer*), *ier* (e.g. *plier*) or *iar* (liar), may be pronounced as two syllables. Thus, items like *tire* or *fire* may be pronounced something like *tayer* (phonetically [ta^{i}ər) or *fayer* (phonetically fa^{i}ər) respectively. In AE, the sequence may be pronounced somewhat differently. To begin with, we observe that there is a loss of the upgliding *y* on the vowel *a*. This is part of the process discussed in the last section, which affects many of the upgliding vowel diphthongs in southern varieties of English. In addition to this process, however, it is observed that the two syllable sequence found in other varieties is coalesced to one in AE. Thus, the items tire and fire may be pronounced more like tahr and fahr respectively. This process makes these items appear to be relatively close to items such as tar and far and it is not uncommon for non-AE speakers to interpret these pronunciations as identical. It is important to note, however, that these pairs of items are not pronounced identically, and few native AE speakers would ever confuse these pronunciations as the outsider might. Items like tire and fire are distinguished from tar and far respectively by differences in the vowel. For one, the vowel of tire and fire is produced more front in the mouth than the vowel of tar and far, which is typically like the a of father. In addition, the vowel in tire and fire is usually of slightly longer duration than the corresponding vowel on tar and far. While speakers from other regions may think that these pairs of items are pronounced quite alike, native AE speakers would have no difficulty in distinguishing them.

It appears that the process we have described above is more commonly found in items where the ire is part of the basic word as compared with items where the construction is formed by the addition of an -er suffix. Thus, the process is more likely to take place in a form like tire or fire than a form like buyer or flyer where -er is a suffix. While these differences in frequency appear to be the case impressionistically, data is still needed in order to confirm this hypothesis.

The process affecting ire sequences is fairly widespread among AE speakers, and does not appear to be especially stigmatized. While we may expect less incidence of this process among middle-class speakers, the phonological process has become well-established as a regional characteristic of the area.

3.9.3 ea before r

One of the effects of r on the preceding vowel sequence involves the sound of the vowel typically represented by ea in spelling, in words such as bear, wear, or tear. Sequences of this type are quite sensitive to dialect differences in American English, but in ways which are somewhat different from that which is observed in AE. In AE, one of the pronunciations still found among some speakers involves a lower front vowel, produced somewhat more in the front of the mouth than the a of father. Although items such as bar and bear may be considered to be pronounced identically by some outsiders, they are differentiated by the fronting of the vowel in bear as opposed to the *a* of *father* or *bar*. This pattern is now found to be rather sporadic, and remains in the speech of a minority of speakers from the area. It does, however, remain in stereotype caricatures of AE speech as seen in the popular spelling of *bar* for *bear* or *thar* for *there*. It appears to persist more in an item such as *bear* than *there*, a fact which may be related to the relative frequency of these words (an item such as *there* would occur many more items than one such as *bear*).

3.9.4 Final Unstressed *ow*

One of the characteristic aspects of the AE phonological system most noticeable to outsiders involves the alternation of final *ow* forms with *er*. For example, we note the following types of correspondences found among our AE speakers:

(46) a. *holler* for 'hollow' 16:(15)
b. *swaller* for 'swallow' 28:22
c. *tomaters* for 'tomatoes' 45:(68)
d. *tobaccer* for 'tobacco' 30:15
e. *yeller* for 'yellow' 34:(250)
f. *foller* for 'follow' 30:7
g. *potaters* for 'potatoes' 30:7
h. *piller* for 'pillow' 30:(419)
i. *winders* for 'windows' 37:(100)
j. *Narrers* for 'Narrows' 30:10

The *er* alternation is observed only on items that have potential alternates as *ow*. This does not necessarily mean that *ow* must be the only alternant for the *er* form, but it must exist as one of the potential alternates. Thus, for example, an item like *potato* may actually be pronounced with a final schwa something like *potatuh* ([pətetə]) or with an *ow* something like *potatow* ([pətetow]) in addition to *er*.

A second condition of the operation of the rule concerns the fact that the syllable in which the alternation takes place cannot take the main word stress. Thus, an item like *belów* or *bestów* (contrasted with, for example, *béllow*) would not be eligible for the operation of this rule since the main stress in these words falls on the syllable containing *ow*. This condition also eliminates words of one syllable, so that the *er* correspondence would not operate on items like *flow* or *low*.

While it is noted that the *er* correspondence for unstressed *ow* in AE typically occurs at the end of the word, it is possible to retain this correspondence with the addition of suffixes such as plural *s* or progressive *-ing*. Thus, we may get an item like *potaters* or *winders* for *potatoes* and *windows* respectively, or even items like *follering* and *swallering* for *following* and *swallowing* respectively. Word final position, then, is defined in terms of the word base or stem, since we have seen that it is possible to add a suffix after the *er* alternation. There is, however, one exception to this general condition found in our corpus; namely the items *Narrers* for *Narrows* (*Narrows* is a city along the southeastern Virginian and West Virginian border). In this case, the *s* is actually a part of the name of the city and typically would not be considered a suffix. The fact that it is *s*, the same form which is added in a suffix, however, leads us to the conclusion that this form came about by analogy with other forms in which the final *-s* was actually a suffix.

It appears that the *er* correspondence for *ow* is more frequently found on items where it is preceded by an *l* type sound (e.g. *holler*, *yeller*, *piller*, etc.) but can be found to some extent on all items that meet the conditions we specified above. Some speakers may, however, only show evidence of alternation following the *l*, while the *ow* forms following other sounds do not alternate with *er*. There are also several lexical items where the *er* correspondence appears to be more resistant to change, including *holler* and *yeller*. On the whole, the general application of the *er* for *ow* correspondence is becoming much more sporadic in the speech of the current generation than it apparently was at one time, since it has become one of the stereotypes of AE speakers.

3.9.5 Final Unstressed *ə*

In many varieties of English, there are items that end in a schwa-type vowel. Typically, this schwa-type vowel [ə] occurs only when the syllable is unstressed. This final unstressed [ə] of other varieties of English may correspond to a high front vowel (symbolized as [i] phonetically and usually *ee* or *y* in traditional spelling) for some speakers of AE. We thus get the following types of pronunciations.

(47) a. *sody* for 'soda' 85:1
b. *Virginiy* for 'Virginia' 153:27

c. *Santy* for 'Santa' 153:33

d. *extry* for 'extra' 40:(429)

It is interesting to note that, in addition to the correspondences given above, this process can affect an item like *kinda*, which is originally derived from *kind of*. We therefore note items like the following:

(48) a. *all kindy noise* for 'all kinda noise' 1:7

b. *we kindy like to* for 'we kinda like to' 160:10

In the case of *kinda* it appears that the item is treated as one lexical unit, regardless of its historical origin, and as such is eligible for the correspondence of final *y* for [ə] which affects word-final [ə] in AE. By contrast, it is observed that we do not get examples of *y* for [ə] in items that are apparently treated as separate even though they may coalesce to end in a final [ə]. For example, we do NOT get *mighty* for *might have/of* or *wouldy* for *would have/of* or *bunchy* for *bunch of* even though we might get *mighta*, *woulda*, and *buncha* respectively in casual spoken speech. It should also be noted that this process does not affect the final schwa-like sound that may be left after a final unstressed *r* has been lost through the application of the *r*-lessness rule (cf. Section 3.3.1). That is, we do not get items like *fa(r)my* or *toasty* for *farmer* and *toaster* respectively even though the application of the *r*-lessness rules may result in forms such as *fa(r)muh* and *toastuh*. Similarly, the process is not observed to apply to items which may alternate a schwa with final *ow*. Thus, we do not get *windy* or *felly* for *window* and *fellow* respectively even though an alternate pronunciation might be *winduh* or *felluh*. These final *ow* forms are affected by a different process discussed in the preceding section.

While there is a productive grammatical suffix *-y* that is used on adjectival forms (cf. for example, *squeaky* for *squeak* or *windy* for *wind*), the *-y* form on the lexical items cited above seems to be different from these. It appears to be a purely phonological phenomenon while the *-y* suffix has a grammatical function.

Since there are not a great many words that actually end in a schwa-type sound of the type described above, this particular process is relatively limited in scope. Its current usage tends to be limited to middle-aged and older speakers of AE and appears to be dying out.

3.9.6 Other Vowel Differences

There are actually a number of other vowel differences which might have been cited here as a characteristic of AE. Some of these are fairly well-known characteristics, such as the collapse of the contrast between e and i before nasals. This pattern, which is widespread in the South, results in the homophony of items such as pin and pen or tin and ten. There are other patterns about which less is known, such as the raising of the vowel i to a vowel more like ee. Most predominantly, this pattern can be found before consonants such as sh or l, as in items like fish and wish or pill and fill but it occurs to some extent before other consonants as well. In some cases, there is an off-glide into a schwa-type sound, so that an item like crib may be pronounced something like creeuhb. There are also cases where a back vowel such as oo may be produced more front in the mouth, gliding into a schwa-type vowel, or even an ee glide. This is also predominant before consonants like sh or l as in items such as bush or pool but may also take place preceding other consonants.

There are many other vowel differences that might be included, many of which are more generally southern in nature but some of them are apparently unique to regions within AE. Further analysis of the vowel system(s) awaits a more detailed phonetic investigation.

CHAPTER THREE

FOOTNOTES

1. Sentences taken from our corpus are referenced by the informant number preceding the colon and the page on our typescript where the example is found following the colon. In the case of informants for which we have no typescript, the counter number on the tape recorder is included within parentheses.

2. Unlike many varieties of English, contraction of past tense forms can take place in AE (cf. 3.5.3) so that the conditions for the retention of full forms is slightly different in this variety. See Labov (1969) for a complete list of the structures in which copula deletion cannot take place.

3. The asterisk preceding a sentence indicates that this sentence is not permissible. That is, the sentence is "ungrammatical" in the linguist's technical definition of grammaticality.

4. In cases involving a form ending in a nasal sound (e.g. *than*, *them*) the vowel may also be deleted leaving a "syllabic nasal" (i.e. the nasal functions as the peak unit of the syllable).

5. Zwicky (1970:326) includes *was* and *were* in his inventory of *w* deletion for mainstream varieties of English. Whereas *w* deletion may affect *was* and *were* for standard English speakers to some extent in more rapid speech styles, its operation is much more pervasive in AE and does not appear to be restricted to the most rapid speech styles.

6. Due to the fact that the verb agreement rules for AE limit the appearance of *were* (cf. Section 4.1.2), most of the forms observed to be affected by this process are *was* and *were*.

7. Pronouns and auxiliaries were not the only forms affected by this historical deletion process. The process has affected a number of compound noun forms (e.g. *shepherd*) and *h* in word medial position where *h* originally occurred between a stressed and unstressed vowel (e.g. *vehement*, *annihilate*). In Cockney, a rather drastic version of "*h*-dropping" has taken place which has become a well-known and stereotyped characteristic of the variety.

8. This process seems to be somewhat more general than Wolfram and Fasold (1974:143) had previously described for non-mainstream varieties of English.

They restricted it to cases where two syllables are phonetically identical (e.g. listenin', openin').

CHAPTER FOUR

GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we turn our attention to grammatical aspects of the AE system. Like the description of phonological features in Chapter Three, we find that there are often intricate and complex rules which govern the grammatical forms of non-mainstream varieties. In some respects, the discussion of socially diagnostic grammatical variables is more important than phonological variables, since it has been demonstrated (Wolfram 1970) that grammatical features tend to stratify the population socially more sharply than phonological features. As with the phonological features discussed in Chapter Three, many of the grammatical variables which may distinguish different social groups of speakers within Appalachia intersect with regional characteristics. Therefore, some grammatical characteristics which are quite obtrusive to an outsider may cut across different social classes within this area.

It is most often found that AE speakers use what might be considered a standard English variant and nonstandard one variably. That is, there is not exclusive use of the socially stigmatized variant, but fluctuation between this and the non-stigmatized alternant form. Unlike socially diagnostic phonological variables, however, where many of the stigmatized variants may be observed to some extent even among middle-class speakers, there is a general tendency of middle-class speakers to categorically avoid socially stigmatized grammatical forms. In the light of our previous discussion, the definition of what constitutes the formal standard English rule for a region such as Appalachia may differ considerably from that found in other regions of the United States, although there does not appear to be as much regional flexibility in the establishment of a standard variety with respect to grammatical patterns as is found in phonological features.

4.1 Verbs

As in other non-mainstream varieties which have been studied by sociolinguists, many of grammatical features differentiating this variety from standard English concern aspects of the verb system. Some of the features of the AE verb system are shared by other non-mainstream varieties, but there may also exist some different parameters of verbs which distinguish AE.

4.1.1 A-Verb-ing

Of the variety of forms that characterize AE, one of the features that holds considerable linguistic intrigue is the a-prefix that occurs with -ing participial forms. We thus encounter sentences like the following in this variety:

(1) a. ...and John boy, he come a-runnin' out there and got shot. 44:6[1]

b. It was a dreadful sight, fire was a-flamin' everything. 16:(434)

c. He just kept a-beggin' and a-cryin' and a-wantin' to go out. 83:18

While forms such as those given in (1) have been found to occur in a number of varieties of American English, they are apparently most frequent in AE (Atwood 1953:35).

What we call here "a-prefixing" (since the a is considered to be a prefix attached to the following verb form) has solid historical roots in the history of the English language. Krapp is just one of the many writers on the history of the English language who notes the occurrence of this form.

> A very frequent syntactic form of contemporary popular speech is that which puts an a before every present participle, especially after go, as in to go a-fishing, bye baby bunting, daddy's gone a-hunting, etc. In phrases like these, the construction is historical, the a- being a weakened form of the old English preposition on in unstressed position, and fishing, hunting, etc., being originally verbal nouns which have been assimilated in form and, to a considerable extent, in feeling, to present participles. Starting with these phrases, however, the a- has been prefixed to genuine present participles, after forms of to be and other verbs, with the result that in popular speech almost every word ending in -ing has a sort of prefix, a-.
>
> (Krapp 1925:268)

Most sources consider a-prefixing to be derived historically from prepositions, notably on. Jespersen, for example, notes:

> ...we start from the old phrase he was on hunting, which meant 'he was in the course of hunting, engaged in hunting, busy with hunting'; he was, as it were, in the middle of something, some protracted action or state, denoted by the substantive hunting. Here on became phonetically a, as in other cases, and a was eventually dropped, exactly as in other phrases: burst out on laughing, a-laughing, laughing; fall on thinking, a-thinking, thinking; set the clock on going, a-going, going, etc.
>
> (Jespersen 1933:53)

The status of a-prefixing as an archaism is relatively secure and its historical source seems to be fairly well documented, but its current use in AE and other varieties of English where it is found has not been subjected to a thorough analysis. In an effort to account for a-prefixing, we shall therefore provide more detail than we have for some other features of AE where detailed descriptions of similar phenomena exist for other varieties of English. Unfortunately, the common viewpoint on the grammatical aspects of a-prefixed participles seems to have been represented by Krapp when he noted that "in popular speech, almost every word ending in -ing has a sort of prefix a-" (1925:266). Such a broad claim is clearly unwarranted, as will be illustrated by the examples we discuss below. There are clear-cut cases where a-prefixing is permissible with -ing forms in AE; by the same token, there are also cases where it is clearly not permissible.

To begin with, we must note that the most common cases of a-prefixing occur with progressives, including past tense, non-past tense and be + ing forms where the tense is found elsewhere in the main verb phrase. Its occurrence with progressives is illustrated by the sentences in (2):

(2) a. I knew he was a-tellin' the truth but still I was a-comin' home... 83:1

b. My cousin had a little brown pony and we was a-ridin' it one day. 124:19

c. Well, she's a-gettin' the black lung now, ain't she? 83:25

d. ...and he says. "Who's a-stompin' on my bridge?" 16:(610)

e. This man'd catch 'em behind the neck and they'd just be a-rattlin'. 28:25

f. He'll forget to spit and he'll cut and it'll just be a-runnin', a-drippin' off his chin when he gets to catch them. 146:25

A further context in which *a*-prefixed forms can be found is that of the movement verbs such as *come*, *go*, and *take off*. In these cases, the participial *ing* form functions as a type of adverbial complement to the verb. Cases of this type are illustrated in (3):

(3) a. All of a sudden a bear come *a-runnin'* and it come *a-runnin'* towards him and he shot it between the eyes. 44:18

b. ...and then I took off *a-ridin'* on the minibike. 4:21

c. ...they wasn't in there no more and I went down there *a-huntin'* for 'em. 44:20

There are also cases in which *a*-prefixing occurs with verbs of continuing or starting. Most predominantly, this involves the form *keep*, but there are also some instances of forms like *start*, *stay*, *get to* and so forth. Illustrations of this type are found in (4):

(4) a. He just kep' *a-beggin'* and *a-cryin'* and *a-wantin'* to go out. 83:18

b. Then send the rope back down, just keep *a-pullin'* it up til we got it built. 124:2

c. You just look at him and he starts *a-bustin'* out laughing at you. 80:(683)

d. ...and we'd get plowed, and we'd get to laughing and *a-gigglin'*. 85:15

Again, it appears that the *a*-prefixed form functions as a type of adverbial complement to the verb (for a formal justification of the classification of the *-ing* form as an adverbial complement, see Chapter Six).

Finally, we should note its occurrence on other types of adverbial constructions, where it is not a complement to a verb of movement or verbs of starting or continuing. Examples of this type are found in sentences like (5):

(5) a. ...you was pretty weak by the tenth day, *a-layin'* in there in bed. 37:13

b. ...one night my sister, she woke up *a-screamin'* -- cryin', hollerin', and so we jumped up. 156:25

c. ...say Chuck would come by and want to spend a hour *a-talkin'*, I always figure I'm not too busy to stop. 30:4

d. ...course a lotta times you can't, and grow up a-huntin' with them instead of hunting for them. 31:22

All of the examples given above represent a-prefixing on the form to which the -ing is directly attached, but the prefixing can be extended to compound forms as well, thus giving us examples like (6).

(6) a. I went a-deer-huntin' twice last year. 31:31
b. I told her I was goin' a-pheasant huntin'. 31:30
c. We was goin' up there a-squirrel huntin' 159:30

In order to understand precisely the systematic grammatical functions of this form, it is also necessary to note several types of contexts where a-prefixing is NOT found. For example, we do not find a-prefixing on -ing when it is added in order to make a verb function as a noun or adjective. These are the so-called gerund or gerundive constructions. This means that we do NOT get constructions such as *He watched their a-shootin', *A-sailin' is fun and *He likes a-sailin' where the -ing participial form functions as a noun. Similarly, we do not observe forms like *The movie was a-shockin' or *Those a-screamin' children didn't bother me, when the -ing participial form functions adjectively. One further syntactic restriction on the permissibility of a-prefixed forms concerns prepositions. A-prefixing does not typically occur following a preposition, so that we do not obtain forms such as *John hit his dog for a-breakin' the dish or *He got sick from a-workin' so hard. This restriction is due to the fact that a-prefixing originally derives from the preposition on or at, prepositions which would be in conflict with other prepositions such as for, from, by, etc. We thus conclude that a-prefixing is restricted to -ing forms which function as adverbial complements and progressive forms.

In addition to the above types of restrictions, which are related to grammar, some phonological restrictions on the permissibility of a-prefixing were also observed. In this regard, there is an interesting intersection of grammatical and phonological conditions that determine its occurrence. One type of phonological restriction is related to the stress pattern of the verb. In the various studies that have been done on a-prefixing (Feagin forthcoming, Hackenberg 1972), there are no cases where the a-prefix is attached to a verb that begins with relatively unstressed syllable. For example, we do NOT get forms like *He was a-discoverin' a bear in the woods or *He was a-retirin' to his cage. This condition appears to be related to the fact that there is a general restriction of words which begin with two relatively unstressed syllables in English. Another restriction on a-prefixing related to phonology concerns items which begin with a vowel. When the verb form begins with a vowel, the a-prefix is rarely, if ever, attached to the form, so that we do NOT typically get forms like *He was a-eatin' the food or *He was a-askin' a question.

In addition to the phonological restrictions on a-prefixing mentioned in the preceding paragraph, there is an interesting phonological constraint which has been found for a-prefixing forms occurring in coordinate constructions. In coordinate constructions formed with a simple coordinate such as and or or, there is a strong tendency to place the a-prefixed form on all of the forms involved in the coordination. Thus, we get constructions such as (7).

(7) a. ...they'll be all bushed up a-struttin' and a-draggin'. 146:17

b. He just kept a-beggin' and a-cryin' and a-wantin' to get out. 83:18

c. ...just keep a-rockin' and a-rollin', rock the car and you finally can rock you a way to get out. 24:(218)

It appears that we have here an alliterative effect which is being created with the coordinate constructions. In this regard, it may be noted that certain literary writers have used the a-prefixed forms for a special alliterative effect in their dialect representations of AE, a caricature that may have some basis in terms of how a-prefixing may be used. If only one a-prefixed form is to be used in coordinate construction, it is more likely to occur on the second (and succeeding -ing forms in a series) construction than the first. That is, we are more likely to get a form like I heared her barking, and a-barkin' and a-barkin' (22:26) than a form like *I heared her a-barkin' and barkin' and barkin'.

While the grammatical and phonological considerations cited above have been virtually ignored in recent descriptions of a-prefixing, the few current attempts to describe this phenomenon in AE have focused on its semantic properties. Some of these recent attempts have proposed that a-prefixing actually has a semantic distinctiveness which has no comparable analogue in standard English. Stewart, for example, has proposed:

> The prefix shows that the action of the verb is indefinite in space and time while its absence implies that the action is immediate in space and time. Thus, he's a-workin' in Mountain Speech means either that the subject has a steady job, or he is away (out of sight, for example) working somewhere. On the other hand, he's workin' in Mountain Speech means that the subject is doing a specific task, close by. A similar (though not identical) grammatical distinction is indicated in Negro Dialect by the verbal auxiliary be.
>
> (Stewart 1967:10)

Such interpretations of the semantic distinctiveness of a-prefixing turn out to be unfounded speculations. For example, the following examples, which are fairly typical, cause us to question the interpretation that restricts a-prefixing to indefiniteness and/or remoteness.

(8) a. I's a-washin' one day and to go under the door I had to go under that spider. 28:21

b. I's a-cannin' chicken one time... 153:38

c. ...all of a sudden, a bear come a-runnin' towards him and he shot it between the eyes. 44:18

d. Who's a-stompin' on my bridge...and the second one come by and says, "Who's a-stompin' on my bridge?" 16:(610)

e. Count to about 10 or 15 so we can see if this machine's a-workin'. Fieldworker 13:1

In cases such as (8a-c), adverbial modifiers such as one day, one time and all of a sudden refer to a particular activity in terms of space and/or time. Each relates to an incident in which the speaker is located at a specific time or place, such as the location of the speaker in a particular room engaged in a specific activity (8a). Even more specific is the sentence used by one of our fieldworkers (an authentic a-prefixing speaker) in (8e). The directions given there refer to the tape recorder located at the point of the interview at that particular time. And the example of (8d) comes from a recounting of the story of "Billy Goat Gruff" where a goat stomps immediately overhead on the bridge.

Quite clearly, then, a-prefixing cannot be restricted semantically to indefiniteness and/or remoteness. It can certainly be used in such contexts but is in no way restricted to them. A fairly extensive investigation of the possible unique semantic categories for a-prefixing has turned up similarly negative results. We therefore conclude that there is no formal semantic distinction between the a-prefixed form and its non-a-prefixed counterpart. This is not to say that it has no stylistic effect in its usage, however. It appears that it is most frequently used in more animated or vivid narratives and descriptions. In these cases, an older, more rural form has given rise to a stylistic device for adding dramatic vividness to a narrative or description.

As we have mentioned earlier, the a-prefixed forms originally derived from an older prepositional form such as on or at. Through a phonological change, many of these forms weakened to become an a-prefix rather than a full preposition.[2] A-prefixing was, of course, quite widespread in the English language at one time. Eventually, however, the a-prefix was lost in many varieties. It is interesting to note that the loss of a- was apparently related to the general phonological process in which unstressed initial syllables could be deleted. This general deletion process can also be shown to be related to the deletion of the a-prefix as found in AE currently (cf. Section 3.5.1). For example, we find that AE speakers typically have less a- following a vowel, the general linguistic constraint that favors deletion for unstressed syllables (especially initial V syllables). Speakers who have more a-prefixing retention also tend to retain unstressed initial syllables more (i.e. have less deletion). What we find in AE is that this deletion process simply did not completely eliminate the a-prefix as was the case in some other varieties of English.

In Table 19, we present the extent of a-prefixing usage for 13 different AE speakers. For this purpose, we have tabulated the actual usage of a-prefixing in those contexts where it might have potentially occurred. The identification of these potential occurrences is based on the grammatical and phonological characteristics of a-prefixing that were discussed above. Actual usage in relation to potential usage is given for the thirteen speakers in our corpus who are observed to have the highest incidence of a-prefixing. We have broken down tabulation in terms of the four main grammatical contexts in which a-prefixing is observed to occur: (1) progressives, (2) the special lexical item keep, (3) movement verbs such as come, go, take off, etc., and (4) adverbs other than adverbial complements to keep or movement verbs. The figures for these 13 informants are given in terms of the rank frequency of a-prefixing usage.

Inf No.	Age/Sex	Progressives		Keep		Movement Verbs		Adverbs		Total	
		No a-/T	%a-	No a-/T	%a-	No a-/T	%a-	No a-/T	%a-	No a-/T	%a-
31	67/M	13/28	53.6	0/2	0.0	2/3	66.7	2/7	28.6	17/40	42.5
83	93/M	16/37	43.2	3/6	50.0	0/1	0.0	0/2	0.0	19/46	41.3
85	78/M	18/57	31.6	4/4	100.0	-/-	--	3/12	25.0	25/73	34.2
153	83/F	9/35	25.7	0/1	0.0	2/2	100.0	1/4	25.0	12/42	28.6
22	60/M	18/64	28.1	-/-	--	0/4	0.0	3/11	27.3	21/79	26.6
152	64/F	11/43	25.6	1/4	25.0	1/1	100.0	1/10	10.0	14/58	24.1
157	52/F	14/52	26.9	-/-	--	0/3	0.0	1/8	12.5	15/63	23.8
30	50/M	7/52	13.5	1/5	20.0	2/5	40.0	4/16	25.0	14/78	17.9
44	14/M	4/41	9.7	1/2	50.0	4/7	57.1	0/3	0.0	9/53	17.0
124	11/M	1/45	2.2	1/2	50.0	8/16	50.0	0/10	0.0	10/73	13.7
146	52/M	9/59	15.3	-/-	--	0/10	0.0	0/9	0.0	9/78	11.5
2	13/M	3/54	5.6	5/13	38.5	1/12	8.3	0/5	0.0	9/84	10.7
29	33/F	7/79	8.9	-/-	--	1/10	10.0	1/4	25.0	9/93	9.7
TOTALS		130/646	20.1	16/39	41.0	21/74	28.4	16/101	15.8	183/860	21.3

Table 19. A-Prefixing According to Grammatical Categories

Several observations can be made on the basis of Table 19. To begin with, we note that the frequency levels of a-prefixing are all below 50 per cent. The range typically falls between 10 and 40 per cent. In terms of the various grammatical categories, we note that it is actually realized at higher frequency levels with movement verbs and keep than for progressives. While most citations of this form refer to its usage with progressives, this is a function of the fact that there are many more potential progressive constructions in which it might occur. In terms of actual usage in relation to potential usage, however, the frequency of a-prefixing for progressives is relatively low.

Table 19 also presents clear-cut support for the contention that a-prefixing is a phenomenon that is dying out in Appalachia. The eight speakers with the highest relative frequency levels for a-prefixing are all 50 years of age or older. Only three of the 13 speakers represented in the table are under 30 years of age, and these three speakers all reveal a-prefixing at levels under 20 per cent.

In addition to the occurrence of a-prefixing on participial -ing forms, it should be noted that it infrequently occurs on participial -ed forms. We therefore have the following types of constructions:

(9) a. I went through a house that's supposed to be a-haunted spooky. 17:27

b. ...and it just looked like it had a big sheet, just a-wrapped 'round him and no head. 85:18

c. I held one leg and Lilly had the head, a-holdin' it a-stretched out. 85:29

d. You'd lose your power the next day. After midnight, the days a-gone; it's a new day then. 15:(923)

Although these types of constructions are relatively rare, we do find AE speakers who use them. We additionally find that a-prefixing may be used on non-participial adjectival and adverbial constructions, as indicated in (10):

(10) a. That's probably what's a-wrong. 77:2

b. I said, "Turn 'em a-loose!" 77:2

c. We'd have a stack a-way up high. 85:3

d. I can make a-many of them. 6:(1012)

e. ...and if she was *a-jealous*, *a-jealous* of me, she would want to see where they was coming. 30:29

A-prefixing on forms such as these is not as productive as it is on participial *-ing* forms, but it does appear to be a regular part of some AE speakers' system. In some cases, however, it appears restricted to certain types of lexical items, such as *a-way* or *a-many*. Apparently, forms such as these also were derived from prepositions originally, although a precise description of their current usage is somewhat elusive at this point.

4.1.2 Subject-Verb Concord

Many languages require that verbs in sentences be marked to agree in various respects with the subject noun phrase of the verb. This type of marking, which is usually referred to as "agreement" or "concord", can involve a fairly extensive set of inflections that reflects the person and/or number characteristics of the subject. In present-day English, this process is relatively limited, but it has evolved from an agreement system which, in earlier stages of the language, was much more extensive.

In both Old and Middle English, the verbal agreement inflections for the present tense typically differentiated between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular subjects and between singular and plural subjects, although there was no distinction made for person among the plural inflections (Robertson and Cassidy 1954:141). This more extensive set of distinctions eventually developed into the present system, which distinguishes only the 3rd person singular agreement from all other persons and numbers (except for the case of *be* which we discuss below). In standard English, concord with 3rd person singular subjects is represented by the *-s* inflectional suffix, all other present tense forms are identical to the basic word stem of the verb. This development is displayed in Table 20. In the past tense, no distinctions are made for person or number of the subject noun phrase, again excepting *be*.

As indicated above, *be* departs somewhat from the paradigm described by maintaining some of the older inflectional distinctions. The 1st and 3rd person singular present forms (*am* and *is*) contrast with the form used for 2nd person singular and all plurals (*are*). Number agreement also is retained to some degree in the past tense, where 1st and 3rd singular subjects occur

	Old English		Middle English		Modern English	
	sg.	plur.	sg.	plur.	sg.	plur.
1st person	-e	-að	-e	-e(n)	-	-
2nd person	-est	-að	-est	-e(n)	-	-
3rd person	-eð	-að	-eth	-e(n)	-s	-

Table 20. Development of Subject-Verb Concord Inflections in English (from Robertson and Cassidy 1954:141)

with was and the other subjects take were. In both tenses, the singular-plural distinction in the 2nd person is no longer observed, and the plural verb form has been adopted. (This coalescence is also found in the pronominal form, where both singular and plural are represented by you.)

In AE, as in many non-mainstream varieties of English, subject-verb concord does not follow the paradigm given above in all respects. The cases where the pattern may be different for this variety almost exclusively involve number agreement in which a singular form is found with a plural subject. We should note that the terms 'singular' and 'plural' here refer to grammatical concepts, not necessarily semantic ones; for example, the pronoun you may be semantically singular or plural, but grammatically it follows the pattern for plural. The differing pattern of concord in these cases is influenced by the kind of plural subject that occurs, as well as the nature of the verb. This set of relationships for AE was noticed by Hackenberg (1972) and much of what will be presented here is confirmed by the data he discusses.

The type of verb appears to be the major factor in determining differences in the concord pattern in AE. With verbs other than be, no subject-verb concord occurs other than in the present tense, so past forms of these verbs will not be considered here. For be, however, we have seen that both present and past tenses can show concord, with be retaining more of the older distinctions of person and number than other verbs. Due to the differing relationships of concord between be and non-be verbs and the historical development that led to the present system, it is not surprising that there are differing degrees of "nonconcord" as well.

The extent of concord as found in a variety such as AE may be indicative of further change in progress. Since concord with person or number has disappeared entirely in verbs other than *be*, it may be expected that the past tense of *be* would be further advanced in such change in varieties where this is happening. The data from AE support such an expectation. Table 21 shows the total amount of nonconcord for the past and present tenses of *be* and the present tense of other verbs for 20 speakers. These speakers represent an even distribution by age and sex for the five different age groups distinguished in this study.

BE				Non-*BE*	
Past		Present		Present	
No./Tot	%Non-Con	No./Tot	%Non-Con	No./Tot	%Non-Con
470/515	91.2	112/458	24.5	57/1405	4.1

Table 21. *Incidence of Subject-Verb Nonconcord in AE*

It is obvious from the figures in Table 21 that there is a much greater likelihood of nonconcord occurring with a past tense *be* form than with present tense *be* or non-*be* verbs. That is, *was* is more likely to occur for standard English *were* than *is* for *are* or *goes* for *go*. In AE, then, the concord system for *be* more closely approximates that for other verbs in that *was* is used predominantly for both singular and plural subjects, much like the pattern in which a single form is used for the past tenses of other verbs.

Another influence on agreement in AE appears to be the nature of the plural subject. An obvious distinction is that between a pronoun such as *you*, *we*, or *they* and other nominals. This particular distinction apparently interacts strongly with the type of verb, since a pronoun subject with *be* past shows a high incidence of nonconcord (90.8%) while nonconcord with present tense *be* and other verbs is almost nonexistent (0.7% and 0.2% respectively). Within the class of plural subjects, there are also differences in effects on concord, but they seem more constant across types of verbs. Various classes of plural subjects were considered in this investigation, but four general categories emerged as influential on agreement patterns. These are illustrated in sentences (11) through (14).

(11) Conjoined Noun Phrase:

a. Me and my sister *gets* in a fight sometimes. 1:25

b. A boy and his daddy *was* a-hunting. 22:23

(12) Collective Noun Phrase:

a. Some people *makes* it from fat off a pig. 164:30

b. People'*s* not concerned. 30:12

(13) Other Plural Noun Phrase:

a. ...no matter what their parents *has* taught 'em. 61:22

b. The cars *was* all tore up. 77:16

(14) Expletive *there*

a. There'*s* different breeds of 'em. 159:22

b. There *was* 5 in our family. 160:13

The examples in (11) through (13) contain grammatically plural subjects. Conjoined noun phrases are those with two or more constituents each of which may be singular or plural, joined by a conjunction like *and* or *or*. These typically function as plural subjects.[3] The second type of noun phrase distinguished is referred to as "collective". This term was chosen to indicate those subjects which refer to an indeterminate group, and which do not have singular and plural forms but act grammatically plural. The prime example is *people*. Other noun phrases were simply grouped together since no other distinctions seemed to be significant at this point. The final category, expletive *there* (cf. Section 4.4.5), is somewhat different from the others since it fills the surface subject slot but does not determine the agreement relationship in the sentence. Sentences with this use of *there* are instead related to other sentences in the following way:

(15) a. Four cows are in the barn.

b. There are four cows in the barn.

The subjects in the sentences like (15a), before the *there* is inserted, govern agreement. In that way, a sentence with *there* can have verb concord for either singular or plural, depending on a following noun phrase. Although *there* can be inserted in sentences with other verbs, it predominantly occurs with *be*. The fact that the subject is removed from its usual position preceding the verb may contribute to the higher degree of nonconcord with *there* in AE.

The incidence of nonconcord for the 20 speakers examined here is presented here in Table 22. The table is broken down by verb type and subject

A. BE Past

Inf No.	Age/Sex	Conjoined NP No. NC/Tot	There No. NC/Tot	Collective NP No. NC/Tot	Other NP No. NC/Tot	Pro No. NC/Tot	Total No. NC/Tot	% NC
36	27/F	3/3	8/8	2/2	8/8	36/36	57/57	100.0
30	50/M	-	3/3	2/2	3/3	22/22	30/30	100.0
35	22/F	-	2/2	-	5/5	7/7	14/14	100.0
49	9/M	1/1	-	-	-	11/11	12/12	100.0
73	8/F	2/2	-	-	-	12/12	14/14	100.0
51	10/M	7/7	-	-	2/2	13/13	22/22	100.0
2	13/M	5/5	-	-	1/1	36/36	42/42	100.0
159	20/M	1/1	-	-	3/3	8/8	12/12	100.0
77	11/F	-	2/2	-	5/5	17/17	24/24	100.0
164	33/M	-	-	1/1	-	5/5	6/6	100.0
1	15/M	4/4	-	-	3/3	26/27	33/34	97.1
22	60/M	3/3	12/12	-	7/7	19/20	41/42	97.6
4	13/M	-	3/3	-	1/1	12/13	16/17	94.1
44	14/M	-	-	-	2/3	11/11	13/14	92.9
154	13/F	1/1	6/6	0/1	0/3	30/33	37/44	84.1
64	15/F	-	1/1	-	-	9/12	10/13	76.9
28	42/F	-	3/3	1/1	6/7	13/18	23/29	79.3
160	56/F	-	2/2	1/1	1/3	5/19	9/25	36.0
61	14/F	1/1	-	-	-	1/3	2/4	50.0
151	18/F	8/9	2/4	-	2/2	41/45	53/60	88.3
TOTAL		36/37	44/46	7/8	49/56	334/368	470/515	
% nonconcord		97.3	95.7	87.5	87.5	90.8	91.2	

Table 22A. Incidence of Nonstandard Concord (NC) for BE (Past) by Informant and Type of Subject

B. BE Pres

Inf No.	Age/Sex	Conjoined NP__ No. NC/Tot	There__ No. NC/Tot	Collective NP__ No. NC/Tot	Other NP__ No. NC/Tot	Pro__ No. NC/Tot	Total No. NC/Tot	% NC
36	27/F	1/1	2/2		2/2	0/25	5/30	16.7
30	50/M	-	9/10	-	8/8	0/10	20/31	64.5
35	22/F	-	4/4	3/3	9/10	0/19	13/33	39.4
49	9/M	-	2/2	-	-	0/7	2/9	22.2
73	8/F	-	-	-	2/2	0/5	2/7	28.6
51	10/M	1/1	1/1	-	-	0/14	2/16	12.5
2	13/M	-	-	-	1/2	0/3	1/5	20.0
159	20/M	-	3/3	-	-	0/7	3/10	30.0
77	11/F	1/1	-	-	0/3	0/20	1/24	4.2
164	33/M	-	1/1	1/1	2/3	1/12	5/17	29.4
1	15/M	-	-	-	-	0/3	0/3	0.0
22	60/M	-	8/8	1/1	1/1	1/14	11/24	45.8
4	13/M	-	1/1	-	1/2	0/8	2/11	18.2
44	14/M	-	2/2	-	-	0/5	2/7	28.6
154	13/F	-	4/4	1/1	0/1	0/11	5/18	27.8
64	15/F	-	1/2	0/1	1/5	0/20	2/28	7.1
28	42/F	-	3/3	0/1	2/4	0/19	5/27	18.5
160	56/F	-	1/2	-	0/2	0/24	1/28	3.6
61	14/F	-	8/9	0/1	5/15	0/40	13/55	23.6
151	18/F	-	13/13	3/3	1/14	0/36	17/66	25.8
TOTAL		3/3	63/67	9/12	35/74	2/302	112/458	
% nonconcord		100.0	94.0	75.0	47.3	0.7	24.5	

Table 22B. Incidence of Nonstandard Concord (NC) for BE (Present) by Informant and Type of Subject

C. Non-BE Verb Pres

Inf No.	Age/Sex	Conjoined NP__ No. NC/Tot	Collective NP__ No. NC/Tot	Other NP__ No. NC/Tot	Pro__ No. NC/Tot	Total No. NC/Tot	% NC
36	27/F	1/1	1/1	5/10	1/58	8/70	11.4
30	50/M	-	2/4	4/7	0/85	6/96	6.3
35	22/F	-	1/1	0/4	0/112	1/127	0.8
49	9/M	-	0/2	2/4	0/29	2/35	5.7
73	8/F	-	0/1	-	0/42	0/43	0.0
51	10/M	-	-	1/2	0/26	1/28	3.6
2	13/M	1/1	3/3	-	0/30	4/34	11.8
159	20/M	-	2/3	-	0/59	2/62	3.2
77	11/F	-	0/2	0/5	0/39	0/46	0.0
164	33/M	-	4/5	2/2	0/101	6/108	5.6
1	15/M	1/1	0/1	1/1	0/57	2/60	3.3
22	60/M	-	0/3	0/1	0/32	0/36	0.0
4	13/M	0/1	-	0/6	0/77	0/84	0.0
44	14/M	-	0/1	-	0/24	0/25	0.0
154	13/F	-	0/3	1/5	0/32	1/40	2.5
64	15/F	0/1	0/3	1/4	1/57	2/65	3.1
28	42/F	-	0/2	3/6	0/57	3/65	4.6
160	56/F	2/2	2/2	3/3	0/100	7/107	6.5
61	14/F	0/1	1/9	2/17	0/130	3/157	1.9
151	18/F	5/5	2/5	2/10	0/97	9/117	7.7
TOTAL		10/13	18/51	27/87	2/1254	57/1405	
% nonconcord		76.9	35.2	31.0	0.2	4.1	

Table 22C. Incidence of Nonstandard Concord (NC) for Non-BE Verbs (Present) by Informant and Type of Subject

category as described above. These figures indicate that the past form of be has consistently higher rates than the present tenses, with no great differences among subject types. The distinction among subjects shows up clearly in the present tenses of be and other verbs, however, showing conjoined NP subjects and there to be the most favorable contexts for this process. After those two, there are collective noun phrases and other noun phrases, in that order, and pronouns with only a slight amount of nonconcord. This display appears to indicate that agreement operates differently in the two tenses in AE. First of all, in the past tense, pronouns participate in the process comparably with other types of subjects, while in the present tenses, they do not. In addition, there is a relatively small difference among subject types in the be past, but a clearer separation in the present tense verbs. What may be happening is that the form was is being generalized for all number subjects with the past tense of be in conformance with the pattern for past tense in other verbs. For the present tenses, however, it is not the verb form (3rd person singular) that is generalizing (since they is relatively unaffected). Instead, various subjects, in differing degrees depending on type, are given singular agreement, and the present tense of be acts like other present tense verbs in this respect.

The operation of agreement in AE does not appear to be related to the social variables of age or sex, since the groups based on those characteristics show considerable uniformity in the rate of nonconcord for the various linguistic categories. There is undoubtedly some relationship to social class since the different agreement patterns generate, to varying degrees, stigmatized forms, but this could not be investigated in the present sample.

As mentioned earlier, the absence of concord in AE occurs typically where a plural subject is present. This contrasts with a variety such as Vernacular Black English, which has extensive -s absence in the 3rd person singular verb forms. There are some instances of this type of nonconcord in this sample of AE but they are primarily of three well-defined types. The first appears to be restricted to the lexical item seem as in (16):

(16) a. It just seem like it does something for you. 160:6

b. Seem like they just don't care about one another. 22:18

c. He can tell it seriously and seem like it's real. 164:22

The total number of instances were not tabulated, but this feature appears to be fairly common, particularly in older speakers.

A second kind of differing concord relationship is used with what has been called the "historical present", a fairly common feature found in many non-mainstream varieties. It is most characteristically found in narratives where 1st person singular subjects are paired with verbs with the 3rd person singular ending, but further comments on patterns of its usage would require more investigation. It is illustrated in a sentence like (17):

(17) I says, you should start dating. I says, you're too young, and, I says, man is made to be with woman... 30:27

Finally, there is a common form that is characteristic of many non-mainstream varieties, the use of don't with 3rd person singular subjects, as in (18):

(18) a. Well, a whippin' don't do no good. 35:8
b. He don't beat her now. 151:33

As Wolfram and Fasold (1974:155) note, this form seems to favor -s absence in many varieties where -s absence is otherwise never or very seldom found, which seems to be the case here. The difference between pronoun and other noun phrase subjects does not appear to be significant and no other potential linguistic constraints were evident. The frequency of don't where standard English has doesn't was 83 per cent following a pronoun and 92 per cent following a non-pronominal subject. (The total usage of don't was 47 occurrences out of 55 potential instances, a frequency percentage of 85.5.) The pattern for don't in AE does not appear to differ from that found for other non-mainstream varieties.

4.1.3 Irregular Verbs

The verb system in English as it has evolved currently has a single productive suffix to signal past tense.[4] This is the ending that is usually spelled -ed and it is added to most verbs for the preterit and the past participle. The preterit is the simple past form in English (i.e. they dropped it) while the past participle is used with the auxiliary have and in passive sentences (i.e. they had dropped it, it was dropped by them). This past ending has three phonologically conditioned variants ([t], [d], and [Id]) and represents the maintenance of the suffix used for these tenses on verbs in Old English, which in turn came from a Germanic process.

In addition, there are a number of verbs in present day English which typically undergo different processes in forming the preterit and past participle. These verbs are referred to as "irregular", a term which is used in the present discussion for any verb which does not follow the productive pattern for forming both its preterit and past participle, such as kept, thought, or grew/grown. In most cases, such verbs are related to verbs which were also "irregular" in earlier forms of Engish, although the patterns involved and the distribution among classes has changed considerably (Pyles 1964).

In some varieties of English, these irregular verbs have alternate past forms which differ from what is typically considered the standard. Our sample of AE contains many examples of such forms; of the 52 informants whose speech was analyzed, only one showed no instances of nonstandard usage in this area. The others, as might be expected, ranged from extensive to fairly minimal amounts of such usage, regardless of the age group. Examples from the sample which illustrate this phenomena include:

Preterit:

(19) a. I told her I done it. 1:14
b. We throwed them a birthday party. 36:3
c. Finally the state come by and they pushed it all out. 46:7
d. She give him a dose of the castor oil. 153:5

Past Participle:

(20) a.. Her home had went, I guess, 50 yards or more from its foundation. 37:8
b. And they hadn't never saw a ghost before. 77:4
c. Well, he had begin to improve. 157:34
d. When I brung it back out, my rod was broke. 10:15

As shown in these examples, there seems to be a variety of ways in which "leveling" of irregular verb forms takes place in AE.

The formation of verb past tenses in English has evolved from a more complex system of inflectional endings (including at one point, for example, a distinction between singular and plural in the preterit, which survives today only in the was and were forms of to be). Language change is a continuous process and the English verb system is part of this ongoing change. One way of determining change that is in progress is through the observation of variability in a given feature. This variability exists in the use of certain of the irregular verbs, in terms of a fluctuation between what can be considered the current standard English form and one or more others.[5] The examples in (19) and (20) given above illustrate some of the other forms. As an indicator of change, the period of variability falls between two non-variable periods, one with only the older forms before change begins, and one with only the new forms after change is complete. During this in between time, what basically is happening is that the two forms - old and new - are both in use. Geographical and/or social factors are often closely related to the distribution of variants during this period.

In the case of the past tense system for verb forms in English, the overall variability has apparently existed since the earliest varieties of English and still continues. Old English had seven morphologically-defined classes of irregular or "strong" verbs which by the Middle English period had begun to break down. Pyles (1964:162) notes that in Middle English, many of these irregular forms acquired regularized (i.e. -ed suffixed) counterparts and then disappeared, leaving the regularized form. He cites examples such as helpen (infinitive), 'to help', which in Old English had the preterit singular healp, the preterit plural hulpon and the past participle holpen; in Middle English they became halp, hulpen, and holpen respectively. During the Middle English period leveling to the current form helped in all past uses began as well. Some of the fluctuations mentioned in connection with Early Modern English (17th and 18th centuries) are still found in current non-mainstream varieties of English. For example, certain participles occurred which lacked the -en ending, as in bit or which were identical with the perterit, as in rode and drove (Pyles 1964:196). Both of these processes provide alternate forms for the participle in the sample being considered here.

The sample of AE under discussion here exhibits quite extensive variability in the past forms of the irregular (with respect to present-day English) verbs showing degrees of nonstandard variants from 100 per cent nonstandard to 100 per cent standard. To illustrate the size of the data base, Table 23 presents the ten most frequently occurring irregular verbs, with a preterit/past participle breakdown and the respective percentages of nonstandard variants used.

The figures in Table 23 illustrate certain characteristics of the entire data base. In general, preterit forms are far more frequent in occurrence than past participles. There appears to be no obvious effect of raw frequency on the probability that a nonstandard variant is used, since some of the verbs (i.e. *say*) are used standardly all of the time, while others have fairly high rates of nonstandard usage in either the preterit (*come*) or the past participle (*get*). This also points to the lack of any direct connection between the use of a nonstandard variant in the preterit and in the participle in those cases where the standard forms differ (*go*). Where the standard forms are identical (*hear*), the frequencies seem fairly even.

		Occurrences		Percentage of Nonstandard Variants	
Verb	Total	Preterit	Participle	Preterit	Participle
have (main verb)	1,422	1,355	67	0	0
get	1,296	1,208	88	0	89.8
go	1,237	1,114	123	0	51.2
say	996	991	5	0	0
come	609	579	30	71.2	3.3
take	386	369	17	22.5	58.8
see	354	243	111	72.9	5.4
tell	327	299	28	0	0
think	259	248	11	0	0
hear	208	120	88	20.0	27.3

Table 23. Most Frequently Occurring Irregular Verbs in AE

In terms of the group of verbs as a whole, there were 106 different irregular verbs used in a past form in the corpus. Fifty-five of these had only standard realizations and the remaining 51 had one or more instances of a nonstandard variant. There are, of course, other irregular verbs in

English, but only those that actually occurred in our sample will be considered here. It is unlikely that a verb in very common use in AE would not have appeared, given the extensive amount of data collected.

The wide variety of nonstandard variants for the irregular verbs of English observed in this set of data indicates that, although the change in language may be moving ultimately toward complete use of the productive past tense suffix on all verbs, the present situation is far from this. While some of the verb forms were found to conform to this regular pattern, a large number did not. By considering how the nonstandard alternates differ from the standard forms, we can characterize these usages and extract several patterns that are operating. This will also serve to indicate that, although the variation may seem quite diverse, it is not unsystematic.

Three processes emerge which apply to both preterits and past participles. For regularized forms, the productive past suffix -ed, in the appropriate phonological shape, is added for the past tense, giving, for example, knowed instead of knew or known. In some cases, what may be considered a different irregular form is used but this is fairly infrequent. This applies both to verbs which already have an irregular past tense, as in brung for brought (probably an analogy with patterns like sting/stung), and a few cases where the standard past variant follows the regular pattern, as in drug for dragged. Finally, some verbs are represented in the past by the uninflected basic word form (or the infinitive without the to), as, for example, in eat and give. Illustrations of these processes are given in (21):

(21) a.. David throwed him in the creek and jumped in after him. 1:27

b. And the rest of us was borned in the hospital. 35:3

c. It's drug on for so long that I've got sick of it. 65:17

d. And the water was real deep and we swim for about two or three hours. 124:16

e. ...then the man that had give it to them come back. 80:2

Two other processes occur in which one form is extended for both preterit and participial uses of the verb. In one case, the participial form is extended to the preterit, the most common examples being seen, which has saw as its counterpart in standard English and done for did. In the other case, the preterit form is extended to the participle, as in got, where standard English uses gotten, wrote for written, and went for gone. These two processes, which have in common the result that the surface forms of preterit and past participle in AE may be identical where in standard English they are not, can be found in utterances like those of (22):

(22) a. That's all I seen of it, cause I had to go back up in the woods. 49:3

b. He shoulda known better in the first place than to do what he done. 65:17

c. Every year I've went to camp and regional meetings. 151:40

A complete list of the irregular verbs whose past forms have nonstandard variants in this sample of AE is given in Table 24. The list is separated into classes based on the types of forms described here. The number of times each form occurs is given in parentheses following the particular verb.

Another way of looking at this data involves how the individual speakers display patterning with respect to this feature. By assessing the extent of nonstandard usage for each speaker according to the various forms possible, certain inferences can be made concerning the way this feature is evaluated within the community. The usage of a particular type of nonstandard form may always take place, fluctuate with a standard variant, or never take place. When viewed in this light, certain relationships between these types emerge. For example, a class of forms that is always standard for the majority of speakers would seem to be more stigmatized if used nonstandardly than one which is always nonstandard for many speakers. When these verb types are considered in this way, it turns out that the use of a preterit for the past participle function is the most acceptable of the group, with regularized and different strong forms the least acceptable. This observation coincides with some evidence from British English with respect to the past participle of get. The use of the preterit form got is apparently nonstandard only within varieties of American English, since as Pyles (1964:200) reports, got is the standard past participle in British English. In terms of language change, this aspect of irregular verb participles is more advanced for British English than for standard American English. AE, with its extensive, but not categorical use of participial got, falls somewhere in between.

Regularization of Productive Suffix	Preterit as Participle	Participle as Preterit	Base Word Form Unchanged	Different Irregular Form
knowed (45)	got (72)	seen (169)	come (381)	set (75)
heared (31)	went (66)	done (80)	run (80)	tuck (73)
borned (17)	bit (22)	taken (10)	give (64)	brung (11)
throwed (13)	broke (16)	broken (2)	eat (22)	drug (8)
growed (12)	tore (12)	sunk (2)	begin (7)	hearn (7)
blowed (11)	took (11)	drunk (2)	become (3)	het (heated) (1)
drinked (6)	wore (8)	grown (1)	swim (2)	
drawed (4)	saw (6)	mistaken (1)	hear (2)	
bursted (2)	froze (6)		sing (1)	
runned (2)	hid (5)			
shedded (2)	wrote (5)			
betted (1)	fell (4)			
lighted (1)	rode (3)			
eated (1)	forgot (3)			
gived (1)	woke (3)			
hanged (1)	beat (3)			
stinged (1)	did (3)			
spreaded (1)	ran (2)			
	ate (2)			
	stole (2)			
	drove (2)			
	forgave (1)			
	flew (1)			
	drank (1)			
	swam (1)			
	gave (1)			
	grew (1)			
	came (1)			
	redid (1)			
	spoke (1)			

Table 24. Patterns of Nonstandard Use of Irregular Verbs in AE

In addition to the verbs listed in Table 24, there is another set of forms that seem to be nonstandard, but of a different sort. For these, the standard form of the regular past tense suffix, [d], is changed to [t], as in:

(23) a. Every time I boilt water, I burnt it. 36:23
b. I got so sick at my stomach, when I smelt them green beans. 29:13
c. ...and we fount some money. 1:18

This process, which can be considered as devoicing the [d] to [t], is also found in the alternations of learned/learnt, held/helt, ruined/ruint, spilled/spillt, and spoiled/spoilt. This appears to be an extension of what happens in standard English burnt and (perhaps) dwelt. Generally, the voiced consonantal suffix [d] is added when the verb ends in a voiced segment (other than [d] or [t]), with the voiceless variant [t] for those ending in a voiceless sound. In these cases a verb which has a voiced final segment such as [n] or [l] may take the voiceless consonantal suffix, broadening the class of items that can differ from the regular pattern in AE.

One final case that will be considered here is the verb sit, with its standard English past form sat. In this sample of AE, however, the standard variant for the past never occurs. In both the preterit and past participle, the form used is set, as in:

(24) a. We set there one day for three hours straight. 6:11
b. One night they had set up and listened to actual ghost stories. 28:33

Although it cannot be claimed that this usage is categorical beyond this particular corpus, there is reason to conclude that it is quite extensive and perhaps the predominant form of the area. At least some instances of sit in other tenses were realized as set. This could mean that the verbs sit and set are coalescing into one surface shape, set, with its lack of difference between past and present forms. This extension of set to include sit is attested by the dialect studies in other areas as well as in West Virginia, as reported in Atwood (1953:21).

Despite the apparent wide variety of usage for irregular verb past forms in AE, there is a systematic patterning which emerges. The patterning and the variability point to potential situation of language change in progress and historical evidence about the development of the irregular verb system in English tends to confirm this. As mentioned above, the area where nonstandard usage is most acceptable is in the participial forms and this would seem to indicate that they will be the first part of the system to advance to completion, or the situation where participles are no longer differentiated from preterit forms. However, it is not possible to predict how social factors, such as the degree of stigmatization of various forms, will affect the course of this change or what the role of education will be in inhibiting the change.

4.1.4 Perfective Done

The use of done as a kind of "perfective" marker has been noticed in analyses of a number of varieties originally derived from the South. This feature also occurs in AE, and though there may be some differences between varieties in the details of its operation, this marker generally seems to be a part of many non-mainstream English systems.

The feature in question is the use of done in constructions like those given in (25):

(25) a. I done forgot when it opened. 159:22
b. And the doctor done give him up, said he's got pneumonia. 22:12
c. ...because the one that was in there had done rotted. 35:21
d. If she had, she woulda done left me a long time ago. 30:29
e. We thought he was done gone. 51:11

The pattern which the usage of done typically follows can be seen in the examples cited in (25). It can occur alone with a past form of the verb, as in (25a, b) or it can intervene in a complex verb phrase which consists of an auxiliary and a main verb, and may also include a modal, as in (25c-e).

Some investigators (Feagin forthcoming) have suggested a more restricted context for the distribution of this marker, specifying, for example, that it is only followed by the past participle form of a verb. However, in this data from AE, the existence of pairs like the utterances in (26) would seem to make such a restriction unsuitable since both the preterit and past participle forms of *take* are found in construction with *done*.

(26) a. ...and then she *done taken* two courses again. 83:7

b. ...she *done took* the baby away from her. 159:38

Even if a restriction such as that suggested by Feagin were found, it could only be made with reference to the irregular verbs in English, since for regular verbs, the two past forms are identical. It seems then that the appropriate generalization is simply that *done* is normally associated with a past form of the main verb which may have a preterit or a past participial function.

As Labov observes (1972c:56), *done* has "lost its status as a verb" in the usage described above. It does not change in form to show tense marking or agreement and occurs within the same clause with an inflected verb. Various other grammatical classifications have been suggested for *done*, including "quasi-modal" (Labov 1968) and adverb. It does not appear that either label is particularly suitable, however, due to differences in syntactic behavior. For example, adverbs typically can be moved away from the verb phrase to another part of the sentence, as in (27):

(27) a. They *quickly* put out the fire.

b. They put out the fire *quickly*.

c. *Quickly*, they put out the fire.

This type of movement is not allowable for *done* since it can only occur in a position relative to the verb phrase as in the sentences in (25) and (26) above.

Since other classifications do not seem to work very well for *done*, we will simply consider it to be an aspect marker, specifically marking the past completion of an action or event. As Wolfram and Fasold observe, *done* is "an additional perfective construction in some non-standard dialects, not a substitute for present perfect tense in standard English but in addition to it" (1974:152). The fact that it is not a substitute for any tense in Standard English can be seen in the following *done* sentences where it interacts with each of the possible tenses where a past verb form is involved:

(28) a. She (*done*) sold it at noon yesterday.

b. She has (*done*) sold it by now.

c. She had (*done*) sold it by the time I got there.

Since *done* can accompany any one of these tenses, it would not appear to function as a substitute for any of them. Furthermore, it does not share the co-occurrence restrictions of any tense. It does, of course, impose some of its own restrictions on various co-occurrences due to its completive meaning which we shall discuss.

There are certain syntactic limitations on the occurrence of *done* in addition to its position with respect to the verb phrase. As previously mentioned, *done* is an aspect marker which can only be used in the presence of a past verb. However, there may also be cases where a past verb can occur and *done* cannot. These cases are syntactically determined. One such situation appears to exist with reduced embedded clauses; that is, sentences which are reduced in some way when subordinately joined to another sentence. Thus, we do not find sentences like those in (29) despite the fact that the clause with *done* contains a past verb:

(29) a. *They seem to have *done* left.
b. *John's having *done* left surprised me.

We see in (29) that *done* is restricted to unreduced clauses, since for the sentences like (29) it is not ruled out because of meaning, as we see in (30):

(30) a. It seems $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{like}\\ \text{that}\end{matrix}\right\}$ they('ve) *done* left.
b. It surprised me that John *done* left.

We mentioned above that *done* is essentially "completive" in nature, referring to a characteristic of its meaning. Other proposals concerning the meaning of this form have been made and many simply suggest a close synonym, like the perfective auxiliary *have* or the adverb *already*. Although these both have aspects which show a similarity to *done*, neither is actually equivalent in meaning. Although there are contexts where substituting *already* for *done* would lead to much the same meaning as in (31), there are also a large number of examples where this is not the case, as in (32):

(31) If I'd do the laundry, she'd do the laundry, you know, go back and do the same thing again that I *done* ironed and put away. 36:15

(32) a. He said, "My God, you *done* killed that man's horse!" 146:8
b. We thought well we can sit back and enjoy our labor of the years gone by since the children had *done* left home. 37:16

Both of the proposed synonyms seem to center on the aspect of pastness that enters into *done*'s use. The distinctiveness of *done*, however, appears to lie instead in its "completive" aspect. That is, it signals the completion of the activity described by the verb, which is already in a past form. This claim can be supported by evidence which comes from sentences that are unacceptable when *done* is included because they contain some feature that prevents a completive interpretation. For example, a progressive as in (33) usually signals continuity which is contradictory to completion:

(33) I didn't know it then but I was (**done*) stepping on a snake.

Even though the verb indicates past time, the progressive is incompatible with *done*. Otherwise semantically, the sentence is acceptable, as seen when the progressive is replaced as in (34):

(34) I didn't know it then but I (had) *done* stepped on a snake.

Other factors which can force an incompletive sense include certain adverbials and verbs. Adverbs which imply some sort of continuity or repetition cannot modify a verb phrase containing *done*, although the sentence without *done* is perfectly acceptable, as we see in (35):

(35) a. They *often* (**done*) forgot their lunch.

b. They had *generally* (**done*) paid their bills on time.

Other adverbs which overtly signify incompletion seem more acceptable, however, and it may be that the completeness associated with *done* can be qualified.

(36) He (?*done*) *almost* fell down two flights of stairs.

In addition, verbs which are non-completive in nature generally cannot be combined with *done*, as in (37):

(37) a. She (**done*) *was* happy to hear the news.

b. They had (**done*) *seemed* upset.

From this type of evidence, it seems that the major characteristic of *done*'s meaning is the completive component. The requirements for a past main verb form and the associated semantic pastness would appear to be derivative of that aspect.

A further consideration in describing any language phenomena involves viewing it from a functional perspective, i.e., why would a speaker choose to use it in a particular utterance (over and above syntactic and semantic aspects that may limit the choice) and what job does it accomplish there.

In order to do this, such factors as the role of speaker intentions and assumptions are given attention. A pragmatic characteristic of this type that appears to be associated with done is the emphasis that it carries with it when a speaker uses it.

The use of emphasis is most obvious in narratives where such devices are frequent, as in example (38), where the speaker was relating a story about the accidental baking of a cat:

(38) She opened the oven door to put her bread in to bake it and there set the cat. Hide done busted off his skull and fell down and his meat just come off'n his bones. 31:23

The emphatic affect is also present in some non-narrative contexts, as in (39), which was uttered as part of a discussion of what happens to certain kinds of women:

(39) ...and then the next thing you know, she's done throwed herself plumb to the dogs. Well, oncet when she puts herself to the dogs, it's harder for a woman to pull herself back than it is a man. 30:29

This last example is further strengthened by the inclusion of the intensifying adverb plumb, a feature of AE which is treated in Section 4.2.3.

The notion of emphasis is somewhat difficult to discuss precisely since very little is known about it, in terms of how it is accomplished (i.e. its correlation with stress, intonation, etc.) and how it functions. One characteristic that has been proposed is that it relates to the speaker's intentions and assumptions, in particular with respect to certainty about or agreement with the proposition involved. In other words, it is unlikely that speakers would use a device to make a proposition more emphatic if they are uncertain about its validity. This characteristic seems to fit the instances of done observed in the present corpus. A substantial number of propositions containing done are clearcut assertions (non-interrogative, non-negative, non-subordinate clauses), and the use of an assertion is an obvious way for speakers to indicate certainty. Some instances of embedded clauses appear to be assertive as well. The examples in (40) are of this type, illustrating both non-embedded (40a, b) and embedded (40c, d) assertives:

(40) a. When I was a boy, if you seen a woman's knee, you had done seen something. 31:15

b. And they done bought their home up there so they can't, you know, just up and leave it. 36:19

c. I reckon she's done sold it. 153:32

d. She asked us if we turned in the assignment. We said we done turned it in. 46:15

Another reason for looking at done with respect to emphasis comes from the fact that our data contain no instances in which it occurs in questions or in negative utterances. This is a further argument for the emphatic use of done. However, the use of done may not be limited to fulfilling an emphatic function; it may have other functions as well. This pragmatic aspect of done may be optional; that is, the speaker may choose to use done emphatically or not, depending on what assumptions are held about the proposition being expressed.

When we speak of done as a feature of AE, this does not mean that it is used by all speakers or to the same extent by those who do use it. Instead, it is present variably and a major factor in our sample appears to be age. Table 25 shows the number of occurrences of the feature by sex and age group. From these figures, it seems that being a male speaker may increase the chances of done's occurrence but this cannot be clearly established in this sample. What is more significant, however, is the much greater use of done found by speakers in the older age groups. This type of distribution may be an indication that the phenomena is dying out in this area. The factors causally related to its disappearance are at this point not at all

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
8-11	3	3	6
12-14	5	2	7
15-18	4	1	5
20-40	5	9	14
40+	26	7	33
TOTAL	43	22	65

Table 25. Number of Occurrences of Perfective Done by Sex and Age Group

clear. It is undoubtedly a stigmatized form in this variety. In fact, many individuals in the present sample show no instances of done in this usage at all (only about 25 per cent do) but it is not possible to determine here whether they never use it or simply did not have occasion to include it while being taped. There are probably individuals of both types represented, with social class interacting here since it is a stigmatized form.

Finally, a note on the history of this form is of interest. Done in this usage was apparently present in earlier stages in the development of English but has disappeared in most varieties. Traugott (1972:146) observes that Middle English "saw the development of a further segmentalization of the perfective, as in I have done gone", surviving only in Northern English, however, after the fifteenth century. In addition, at this time, done did not seem to require a past participle following it. Traugott speaks of the past participle "spreading" to the main verb in late Middle English, and speculates that "an emphasis on the completion" may have been involved (1972:193).

Such historical facts may provide evidence for the source of done in AE. If done originated as an additional component of the perfective aspect as it was developing in the English language, it may have retained its status as an added aspect marker while modifying its privileges of occurrence somewhat in those varieties where it was preserved. Traugott gives its initial environment as have + Past Participle + do (+Past Participle), indicating that, at first, have done finish was the acceptable form. Later, the "spreading" of the past participle to the main verb gave the form have done finished (1972:193). Once the past participle spread to the main verb, done may have attained some degree of independence from the have construction, its distribution privileges broadening to include simple past verbs and the be auxiliary, while keeping its function to mark a completive aspect. This is, however, speculation, based on the facts of current usage of done in AE that we have gathered here and the historical evidence available on its possible origins.

4.1.5 Double Modals, liketa, supposeta

Many investigators of southern White English and Vernacular Black English have noticed the presence of constructions which commonly have been termed "double modals" (Atwood 1953; Labov 1968, 1972c; Feagin forthcoming). These include such phrases as *might could*, *might should*, *useta could*, etc. As Labov (1972c:57) observes, these are not considered part of standard English since they do not conform to the rule that prohibits one modal from following another. There is no one-to-one relationship evident between these forms and corresponding ones in standard English. Although some of the double modal constructions may have a close "translation", as in substituting *might be able to* for *might could*, there are others, such as *might should*, where no apparent equivalent exists.

It is interesting that AE, as represented in this study, while exhibiting many other characteristics in common with other southern varieties, does not appear to share in the usage of double modals to any significant degree. The data contain infrequent examples of such usage, as in (41):

(41) a. I looked around, couldn't find him nowhere. Boy, I hollered for him, couldn't, he *musta didn't* hear me. 17:16

b. You know what? I *useta couldn't*, I *useta couldn't*, couldn't count. Why, I *useta couldn't* count anything til I, til I got me some work up here. 85:21

c. People *useta didn't* have frigidaires or nothing. We just had a big old milk house. 85:25

d. A *might could* make up one, but I don't know. 74:8

It would be difficult to identify any constraints on this feature for this variety, either social or linguistic, based on such occasional cases. The scarcity of the examples might indicate that the usage is receding in this area, but the evidence is uncertain.

Labov (1972c:59) considers double modals to be part of a wider phenomenon affecting certain items which resemble auxiliary verb forms. This group includes not only the first member of a double modal (*must*, *may*, *useta*, etc.) but also forms like *liketa*, *supposeta* and *better*. He concludes that they all function formally like adverbs, due to their lack of tense marking and other syntactic behavior which is unlike that normally found with the first member of an auxiliary (inversion for questions, etc.).

Although the present AE sample contains relatively few occurrences of constructions generally classed as double modals, there are a greater number of instances of other members of the set discussed by Labov, in particular, *liketa* and *supposeta*. This fact about the data could constitute evidence against Labov's claim that these structures are "examples of a single ongoing process" (1972:59). It seems more likely that in the variety under consideration, the productivity of the process is fading, but to a lesser extent with some of the members of the set than with others. This could account for the imbalance in numbers of examples and also for the difference in numbers of speakers who use the forms.

Liketa occurs in both positive and negative contexts as in (42):

(42) a. And I knew what I'd done and boy it *liketa* scared me to death. 152:28
b. That thing looked exactly like a real mouse and I *liketa* went through the roof. 64:19
c. When we got there, we *liketa* never got waited on. 151:2
d. I *liketa* never went to sleep that night. 2:5

A past form of the main verb of the clause always follows it, and this is the place where the tense marking is carried, since it is absent from *liketa*. There are no cases of the form occurring in questions or embedded clauses, and the only negative environment represented is *never*.

Both Labov (1972c), in describing the form in Vernacular Black English, and Feagin (forthcoming) in her treatment of White Alabama English, conclude that *liketa* is equivalent to "almost". In addition, they both mention a further characteristic, which Labov refers to as "intensive significance" (1972c:56) and Feagin speaks of as "emotive". While these accounts appear to be essentially accurate when applied to the data from AE, a few additional comments can be made.

From the instances found here the equivalence of *almost* seems to be too general. *Liketa* can apply in a wider variety of contexts than *almost*. Furthermore, *almost* does not seem to relate directly to the aspect of exaggeration that accompanies the use of *liketa*. A closer approximation would be along the lines of "on the verge of", or, at more length, "came so close that I really thought *x* would" where *x* is the subject of the *liketa* clause. This aspect may be what Labov meant by the "intensive" part of its meaning. The latter paraphrase also expresses the fact that the intensiveness represents the attitude of the speaker, in that it is the speaker's opinion that the action of the main clause just missed happening, whether the subject is _I_ (that is, the speaker) or not. For example, (43) is a case where the subject of the _liketa_ clause is not _I_:

(43) Oh, he _liketa_ had a fit. He said, "My God, you done killed that man's horse!" 146:8

Here, it seems fairly clear that the narrator's perception of the situation is such that the man in question came close to having a real fit over what had happened, perhaps even so close that the speaker really thought he would.

A related characteristic of _liketa_ is the counter factuality it imposes on the clause in which it appears. The use of _liketa_ signals that, although the situation came very close to happening, it in fact did _not_ happen, and the proposition contained in the clause is admittedly untrue (or exaggerated). This is apparent in a case like (44), where in order to allow for the possibility that the situation did actually occur, the speaker must separately assert it:

(44) Well, she's _liketa_ threw me, thrown me through a wall before. Matter of fact, she did one time. 149:13

A sentence like (44) also points out another problem in positing synonymy between _liketa_ and _almost_, in that scope of the adverb must be taken into consideration. _Almost_ bears a resemblance to _liketa_ when its scope is the entire proposition and there is no degree of or "partial" truth possible, i.e., the content of the proposition _almost_ happened but did not. Other uses of _almost_ indicate the degree to which something happened or was true in some way. _Liketa_ could not be used in these situations:

(45) They _almost_ made it to the top of the mountain.

(46) *They _liketa_ made it to the top of the mountain.

In this case, _almost_ signifies that they made it some of the way, but not all of the way to the top. The difference is also clear in sentences which have both a metaphorical and a literal interpretation possible:

(47) a. They _almost_ went through the roof when they saw the mess.
b. They _almost_ went through the roof, but the drill they were using wasn't powerful enough.

(48) a. They _liketa_ went through the roof when they saw the mess.
b. *They _liketa_ went through the roof, but the drill they were using wasn't powerful enough.

These comments apply equally well to the occurrences of *liketa* in negative contexts and might in fact shed light on why *never* is strongly favored, if not the only possibility for such an environment. In cases like (42c, d), the speaker claims that the situation "came close" to *never* happening, but it finally did. This latter aspect is again the counterfactual component. The truth value of an utterance without *liketa* is the opposite of one with the form, whether it is positive or negative, as seen in the comparison of (49) and (50):

(49) I got lost there and I *liketa* never found my mommy. 75:5
(50) I never found my mommy.

Never may simply be favored for syntactic reasons in that it can be followed by a past form of the main verb whereas the negative particle *not*, for example, requires the auxiliary form of *do*, with *do* carrying the tense marking. However, these factors of meaning and truth values may also contribute to its favored status.

Another member of the set mentioned by Labov that is also found in the data being considered here is *supposeta* (with variants *sposeta* and *'poseta*). While less frequent than *liketa*, it is found to a considerable extent. Again, the construction involves a past form of the verb following it, and most instances are preceded by the auxiliary *was*. Sentences such as (51) are representative of the sample:

(51) a. He was *supposeta* went up in this big two story house. 35:12
b. And a bunch of guys jumped on him, something he was *sposeta* done, and killed him. 66:6
c. And so they *poseta* met on one side of the ridge, you know, in so many hours. 156:19

Labov (1972c:59) maintains that *supposeta*, like *liketa* and *useta*, has become a fixed form, related to *supposed to* but with the past tense ending no longer operative. Instead, tense marking is included on following element (with, in addition, the past tense on the auxiliary *was* when it is present). Labov also notes that the auxiliary *do* is needed when *supposeta* is negated as in *don't supposeta* (1972c:56) but only rare cases of *do* with *supposeta* were found in this sample of AE.

Unlike the form liketa, however, supposeta seems to have retained much the same meaning as its related verb supposed to. In fact, it looks very much like a form of have deletion (cf. Section 3.2.2) has simply taken place in what in standard English would be the embedded clause. Sentence (52) points toward this possibility:

(52) Different things that was supposeta been done personally I don't think they been done. 37:19

Here there is clearly a case of have-deletion in the second part and this seems to be a direct parallel of what happened in the relative clause. This is not so clear in cases like (53) which are less frequent:

(53) We sposeta went to the gymnasium. 88:(199)

The differences may represent in some way stages relating to the distance of the form from its standard English correspondence as it becomes more independent.

There is one further example that seems to involve the same process discussed by Labov but is not included in his list, namely boundta. Like supposeta, this form also seems to retain much the same significance as its standard English counterpart.

(54) I don't know but she was just a little bit of a girl, cause Rass was a baby, you know, she boundta been little. 153:35

It appears that an item such as this may represent an extension of the process, although we have too few examples to make such a claim without qualification.

Table 26 gives the distribution of the forms discussed above with respect to age and sex. While the figures are not substantial enough to warrant any definitive statements, certain tendencies may be indicated for the forms liketa and supposeta. Both seem to be favored by female speakers rather than males. In addition, liketa may be receding given the relatively greater frequency of its occurrence in the older groups, while supposeta appears to have a fairly even distribution across age. The implication from these figures that liketa may be disappearing seems to correlate with its greater degree of difference from standard usage when compared with the other forms. This could correspond to a more general movement toward the standard language in which the more non-standard forms would not be maintained.

	Double Modals		*Liketa*		*Supposeta*	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
8-11	0	1	0	3	2	2
12-14	0	0	3	2	0	0
15-18	1	0	2	4	0	4
20-40	0	0	0	3	0	6
40+	0	2	4	12	0	5
TOTALS	1	3	9	24	2	17

Table 26. Number of Occurrences of Double Modals, *Liketa* and *Supposeta* by Age and Sex

4.1.6 Verb Subclasses

Many of the AE rules dealt with in the preceding sections are relatively general in nature. That is, they affect a broad class of items that meet the conditions for the operation of the rule. In those cases where the rule affected a restricted set of items, we discussed the feature in some detail because of the important structural consequences of the small class of items. There are, however, rules that are more restricted and not as significant structurally in terms of the class of items affected by the rule, applying to small subsets of items or even an individual item within a general class. Some of these processes affect subclasses of verbs as AE is compared with other varieties of English.

One of the categories of verb classification that may be found to be different across dialects relates to the distinction between *transitive* (i.e. the verb takes an overt object) and *intransitive* (i.e. the verb does not take an overt object) verbs. While the great majority of verbs may be expected to coincide in their classification across varieties of English, there are occasional instances where verbs may differ. One example of such a difference, as found in AE, concerns the verb *beat*. In most mainstream varieties of English, an overt object is required to appear with *beat* so that we typically get sentences like *The Phillies beat the Pirates*. In these varieties, *beat* cannot be used as an intransitive verb. In AE, however, as in some other non-mainstream varieties of English, *beat* can be used as an intransitive verb as well, so that we observe sentences like (55):

(55) a. Like if we *beat*, they cause trouble. 150:4

b. Sometimes I *beat*. 41:(70)

c. And Willie just passes 'em up and *beats*. 52:(294)

In cases such as (55), the intransitive counterpart required in most varieties of standard English would be *win*, so that a sentence such as *Sometimes I win* would be the correspondence for AE *Sometimes I beat*.

Further differences in the subclassification of transitive or intransitive verbs may also be found across dialects. For example, standard varieties of English permit the verb *learn* to take an object as long as it is non-human. This is not the case in AE, however, so that the verb *learn* may take a human object as in (56):

(56) a. But it still didn't *learn him* anything. 164:9

b. She *learnt me* how to count. 85:21

c. They *learnt him* how to run. 16:(151)

The verb form corresponding to this in standard English would be *teach*. AE, like a number of other non-mainstream varieties of English simply extends the structural context in which *learn* can occur. This particular item has become one of the stereotyped features relating to verb subclassification, and many teachers make a special effort to teach the standard English correspondence.

In many cases, as we have seen above, the different subclassification of verbs involves the extension of the semantic territory covered by a particular verb form. We thus have a case like *set*, which is extended in AE to cover the semantic areas usually reserved for *sit* or *stay* in other varieties of English (cf. Section 4.1.3). Sentences like (57) illustrate this pattern, which turns out to be fairly widespread among varieties of southern origin:

(57) a. We *set* there a while and we seen 'im. 121:(430)

b. Everybody *sets* wherever they want. 46:15

c. Well, I *set* here. 83:15

While *set* is usually used as a transitive verb in standard English, it is clearly used as an intransitive one in the sentences illustrated in (57). Because of the similarities in the pronunciation of *set* and *sit*, it has sometimes been suggested that the close phonetic resemblance caused them to merge.

One of the fairly well-known cases where verbs are used to cover different semantic areas across dialects involves the uses of *take* and *carry* in many varieties of southern origin. In most northern varieties of standard English, *carry* cannot be used with reference to escorting or accompanying; this usage is reserved for the verb *take*. In southern varieties, including AE, we get sentences such as *He carried her to the movie* or *He carried her to the store* corresponding to northern *He took her to the movies* or *He took her to the store*.

While the usage of *carry* is semantically extended in AE to cover areas reserved for *take* in other varieties of English, it is interesting to observe that *take* may be expanded in a different direction. We thus find *take* being extended in this variety to cover items which would typically correspond to *catch* or *get* as used with reference to acquisition of sickness or disease. We therefore encounter examples like (58):

(58) a. I *took a virus*. 35:5
b. My kids *taken the chicken pox*. 40:15
c. I *take weak spells*. 85:7

And, with the addition of the particle *up*, *take up* is observed to cover the semantic reference usually covered by *live* or *stay* in other varieties of English, as illustrated in (59):

(59) a. Did ever a stray animal come to y'all's house and *take up*. (Fieldworker) 2:7
b. ...come and *take up* with us. 5:(nc)

In this case, *take up* may be used as an intransitive verb form, which is different from its usual function in varieties of standard English.

There are a number of other verb forms that simply have to be treated as different lexical items in AE. Most of these would, of course, have to to discussed individually. An illustrative inventory of some of these lexical verb differences is given in Table 27, where some AE verb forms and their approximate correspondences in standard English are given.

Table 27 is, of course, intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive. For the most part, these items simply involve individual vocabulary differences and would have to be discussed as such. Our major concern here is the more general phonological and grammatical rules.

AE Verb	SE Correspondence	Illustrative Sentence
aim	intend, plan	I been aimin' to go down and see 'im. 87:5
bless out	scold severely	I got blessed out. 28:17
doctor	treat	If I taken the cold, they just doctored it themselves the way they thought it sposeta been doctored. 160:13
fixin'	prepare, plan	It was just fixin' to bite me and I taken off a-runnin'. 160:25
fuss at	scold, yell at	She'll probably give me a whippin' or I'll get fussed at. 126:(87)
get	become	My older sister, she used to have these birfday parties when she got sixteen. 17:6
go	travel	Half the time, in 17, you couldn't go the road. 31:6
happen in	come, arrive	They sometime happen in at the same time. 31:3
hear tell	listen to, heard	I've heared tell of some that happened years ago. 36:6
reckon	suppose, guess	I reckon she's done sold it. 153:32
reckon to	acknowledge, defer	I reckon to my age and the way I've had to work hard all my life. 85:14
whup	whip	...'cause if they heard you say it, they'd whup you. 10:(386)
set out	start	We set out to teach them to be able to take care of theirselves. 40:3
tree	chase up a tree, corner	Our dog treed one under the chicken house. 40:40

Table 27. Some Illustrative Lexical Differences in AE Verbs

4.6.1.1 *Need + Verb + -ed*

One of the restricted grammatical patterns affecting verbal phrases in AE involves the verb *need* and its complements. In most mainstream varieties of standard English, there are at least several alternant forms of the complement. Among the complements *need* may take is an infinitive form of *to be*, as in *The house needs to be painted* or simply a participial *-ing* form without the infinitive *be*, as in *The house needs painting*. Although the form *be* does not occur with the *-ing* participial form, it is required to be present with the *-ed* participial form in standard English. In AE, as in other regional varieties of English surrounding this general area, the *-ed* participial can occur without *be*. This results in sentences like (60):

(60) a. It *needs remodeled* all over it. 35:21
b. I like my hair, except it *needs trimmed* right now. 155:7
c. ...just about everything that *needs done*. 122:(353)

In this case, there is an option for forming the complement structure that is not present in some other regional varieties of English, where *-ed* participles require the infinitive *to be*.

There is an extension of this general pattern involving verbs other than *need* and non-participial (*-ing*) complement forms. The verbs *like* and *make out* apparently fit this class when the predicate constructions following them are nominatives or locatives. We find this in sentences like (61):

(61) a. It *liked around people*. 77:2
b. They all *made* him *out the liar*, but I believe the man was a-tellin' the truth. 83:15

Since there are so few instances of this type of construction, it is difficult to give a detailed descriptive account, but it appears that these are specialized lexical cases in which the form *be* (either in its infinitival or participial forms) may be absent in a complement sentence.

4.1.6.2 *To* + Verb + *ing*

In standard varieties of English, there are several ways in which complement sentences can be embedded within another sentence (in a sentence like *I believe that the world is round*, *The world is round* is the complement sentence to *I believe (something)*). One of these alternatives involves the formation of an infinitive with the verb of the complement sentence. Thus, we have a sentence like He started to mess around where to mess is the infinitivized form of the verb in the complement sentence. Another way in which complement sentences may be embedded involves the use of a participial ing form on the verb, giving us an alternant like He started messing around. In most standard varieties of English, these alternant processes involve mutually exclusive forms; that is, either the infinitive form WITH to is chosen or the -ing form WITHOUT to is chosen. In AE, as in some other varieties of southern origin, there is another alternate in which the to complementizer may co-occur with the ing participial form. This gives us sentences like (62):

(62) a. Boy, I started to runnin'. 10:21
b. They started to messin' around. 2:3
c. Chickens started to peckin' them. 16:(224)

In cases such as these, we simply have another alternant formation for complement sentences. It is interesting to note, however, that this alternant formation is apparently restricted to verbs denoting inception or commencement. Most predominantly, this involves start but there are other cases, such as the inceptive functions of got and went.

(63) a. A vein in his nose bursted and he went to hemorragin'. 40:16
b. She practically raised 'im 'till he got up to walkin'. 36:38
c. Dad really went to drivin' fast. 30:22
d. We got over there and we got to messin' around in this old tree and there was something on top of it. 49:2

For these verbs, the to particle may have to be considered an integral part of the verb form (i.e. the verb is got to or went to) which is necessary for the verb to be used with an inceptive reference.

4.1.6.3 Have + Noun Phrase + to + Verb

Whereas many complement sentences in English can be formed through the formation of an infinitive, including the complementizer to, there are occasional complement sentences in standard English where to is not included in its formation. One of these constructions involves the verb have as it is used with reference to causation or procurement. Thus, a sentence like They had the machine do the work or He had him come home is formed without to. In these cases, the noun phrase which is the object of have is also the subject of the complement sentence. Unlike many other complement constructions, to does not occur here. In AE, however, these constructions may include the form to, giving us sentences like (64):

(64) a. Just recently, I had an aunt to come from Texas. 3:(554)
b. He had the blacksmith to make him a pair of forceps. 31:9
c. They'd have a thrashing machine to come in and thrash it. 85:2
d. Usually, I hafta have somebody else to do it. 3:(765)

Constructions such as (64) do not appear to be especially stigmatized socially, and there is some evidence that forms such as these are spreading into more mainstream varieties of English.[6]

4.2 Adverbs

Another general class where a number of differences can be observed cross-dialectally is that of adverbs. While some of these differences may not have the significant structural consequences of certain verb differences, there are some general grammatical rules which set apart different varieties of English.

4.2.1 Time Adverb Placement

In English, there is a class of time adverbs that commonly occur after the verb phrase, often taking the end position in a sentence. In sentences like We go to the store all the time or We write home once and a while, the adverbial phrases all the time and once and a while occupy this end position. These adverbs may, however, be moved to the front of the sentence in some instances giving us the alternant sentences All the time, we go to the store and Once in a while we write home. In many varieties of English, these are the only positions in a sentence that adverbial phrases may occupy. In AE, however, adverbial phrases of time (typically referring to frequency) may be moved within the verb phrase (usually before the main verb, but they may in some cases precede the auxiliary). We thus get sentences like the following:

(65) a. We'd all the time get in fights. 10:15
b. We's all the way talkin'. 10:20
c. We once and a while will have pretty bad floods. 38:(nc)
d. She's all the time wantin' to watch something. 15:(745)

The placement of these types of adverbial phrases within the verb phrase simply generalizes a pattern in which single adverbs of frequency (e.g. *always*, *usually*, *rarely*, etc.) may occur in this position within the verb phrase, as in sentences like *We'd always get in fights* or *We'd rarely get in fights*.

While adverbs of frequency such as *ever*, *rarely*, *always* and so forth typically are placed within the verb phrase, there are special conditions found in AE under which they may be moved out of the verb phrase. Consider, for example, the sentences in (66):

(66) a. That was the brightest light that *ever* I seen. 157:31
b. That's the biggest rattlesnake *ever* I seen. 157:27
c. Did *ever* a stray animal come to y'all's house and take up. 2:7

In examples such as (66a, b) the frequency adverb *ever* is moved to the front of an embedded sentence. In a sentence like (66c) the frequency adverb is moved with the auxiliary to the front of a question sentence. We thus see that an embedded sentence and a question sentence may allow the frequency adverb to be moved to the front of a sentence. The extent to which this process affects the general class of frequency adverbs in AE is not known at this point since most of our citations involve the adverb *ever*.

In connection with the placement of the adverb *ever*, it is noteworthy to mention how *ever* combines with pronoun forms, particularly *what*. The standard English formation of these items is typically *whatever*, but in AE it is observed that the *ever* may precede *what*, giving us *everwhat*. This formation is attested in (67):

(67) a. ...so *everwhat* you planted. 22:9
b. ...*everwhat* it is. 22:26
c. ...*everwhat* the case may be. 32:(200)

Although *ever* most frequently combines with *what* in this way, occasional instances are also found with other pronoun forms as well. This is seen in utterances like (68):

(68) a. Say five or six of us boys, *everhow* many was in the..., you know, lived close to us. 30:1
b. INF: And they said "*Everwho* gets bloodied first won".

FW: Whoever gets bloody first?

INF: Everwho bloodied the person. 51:3

At this point, we do not know the extent to which it can apply to other forms as well, but it appears to be quite restricted.

Finally, there is one extension of the lexical item ever which should be mentioned; namely, the coalescence of ever and every, so that ever may be used in contexts that would correspond to every in standard English. We thus get sentences like the following:

(69) a. Boy that thing was jerkin' me ever which way. 9:(637)

b. And ever time I say something to her, she act like she's gonna kill me. 15:(30)

c. They go just ever change of the moon. 35:(330)

d. We had everthing to eat. 163:(67)

The merger of every into ever is obviously due to the close phonetic similarity of these items to begin with. In fact, it is sometimes difficult to perceive the phonetic difference between a reduced form of every and ever in rapid casual speech, so that this merger is not as socially obtrusive as might be expected. Some items which may, on first glance, seem to be related to the order of ever and the wh pronoun discussed in the preceding paragraph (e.g. ever which as in (69a) or ever where from every where) seem related to this phonetically-based merger rather than the actual movement of the form ever seen in the examples in (67) and (68).

4.2.2 Comparatives and Superlatives

In standard English, there are several different forms which comparative and superlative constructions can take. One way of forming these constructions is through the addition of a comparative -er or superlative -est suffix. For the most part, the comparative -er and superlative -est suffixes are used on words of one syllable, as in items like taller and tallest or fatter and fattest and two syllable words that end in a vowel, such as prettier and prettiest and easier and easiest. In words of two syllables that end in a consonant and those of more than two syllables, standard English shows a preference for the comparative adverb more and the superlative adverb most rather than the addition of a suffix. This results in items like more beautiful and most beautiful or more awful and most awful. In addition to these patterns for forming comparatives, however, there are certain irregular items where a different item is used in the comparative and superlative form. For example, the following items are irregular in their comparative and superlative formation.

Item	Comparative	Superlative
good, well	better	best
bad	worse	worst
much, many	more	most

In AE, as in most non-mainstream varieties of English, the pattern for forming comparative and superlative constructions may differ. One difference involves an extension of the -er and -est suffixes to words of more than one syllable that end in a consonant. We thus get the following formations:

(70) a. It was the awfulest mess. 34:(36)
b. ...one of the beautifulest pieces. 30:(156)
c. ...the awfulest stuff. 31:(113)

In cases such as these, the conditions for adding the suffixial forms of the comparative and superlative are different from standard English.

Another pattern that differs from most standard English varieties involves the use of both the comparative adverb before the item as well as the addition of the suffixial form. This "pleonastic" or redundant comparative formation may occur on items that would only take the suffix in standard English as well as items that typically take the comparative or superlative word, although it appears more common in the former case. We thus get items such as (71):

(71) a. ...a little bit more older. 52:(162)
b. ...it's more easier to prepare food. 37:(53)
c. ...got more closer and more closer. 151:(404)
d. ...more stricter than my father. 37:(53)
e. ...most stupidest thing. 64:(267)

Pleonastic comparative and superlative forms such as these appear to be more socially stigmatized than the cases where the suffixes are extended to certain polysyllabic words. This is probably due to the fact that there is some flexibility in the standard English rule for the addition of the suffix (in some instances, it simply being a stylistic preference) while there is a general prohibition against marking comparatives and superlatives with both the comparative word and the suffix in standard English.

Finally, there is a regularization of some of the irregular comparatives in AE. This may involve simply the addition of the suffixial comparative or superlative on the base word or the redundant addition of the suffix to the irregular form. The result of this regularization tendency is constructions such as the following:

(72) a. ...the baddest dream. 5:(986)
b. She got worser. 108:(413)
c. ...the mostest people. 73:(539)
d. Things are getting worser anymore. 108:(413)

This type of regularization process seems more characteristic of younger AE speakers than older ones, so that it is age-graded to some extent. The comparative and superlative constructions found in AE do not appear to be any different from those found for other northern and southern non-mainstream varieties of English. In most cases, these forms are variable, fluctuating with forms that would be considered characteristic of standard varieties of English.

4.2.3 Intensifying Adverbs

In AE, as in a number of English varieties of southern origin, there are adverbs which function to intensify a particular attribute or activity. These adverbs are a well-known characteristic of AE and often become stereo types of speakers from this region by outsiders. Despite recognition of these forms by many speakers of English, they often carry nuances of meaning that sometimes make them difficult to describe precisely. Even apart from their meaning, the exact syntactic privileges are sometimes difficult to pin down, since there are overlapping syntactic contexts as well as contexts in which only certain submembers of this class can be used.

One of the most common of these intensifiers is this item right. In standard English right is limited to indicating precise direction and location in space or time with select adverbs, as in sentences like It's right near here or He's right over there. AE is among those varieties of English where right can also be used with adjectives. Bolinger notes that:

> ...it is normally used with adjectives whose meanings suggest concentration rather than diffuseness, a point rather than a spread, something that hits the senses rather than something with little effect. A fairly close synonym is _keenly_.
>
> (Bolinger 1972:51)

Its usage with adjectives in AE is found in the following types of sentences:

(73) a. It was _right_ cool. 84:(296)
b. It'd be _right_ soupy wet. 31:9
c. It was _right_ large. 161:(321)
d. It was _right_ amusing. 22:14
e. Makes you feel _right_ foolish. 152:17

In addition to its use with adjectives, it can also be paired with adverbs other than those with which it occurs in standard English. We thus find it being used with adverbs of manner and time.

(74) a. I hollered _right_ loud for help. 152:31
b. You can take it and grind it up _right_ fine. 22:14
c. ...she'd nudge me _right_ hard. 28:20
d. Well, back years ago, whiskey was used _right_ often for medicinal reasons. 32:30
e. ...and they found it and _right_ quick they seen him with it. 42:10

As compared with standard varieties of English, AE allows a generalization of the intensifier _right_ from a restricted set of adverbs to a wider set of adverbs and to adjectives. Although it is very difficult to choose a synonym, it appears to correspond closest to the intensifiers _very_ or _really_ (He's _really/very_ nice) in standard varieties of English.

The intensifier _right_ can also function as an intensifier in combination with the item _smart_. While right by itself occurs preceding adjectives, _right smart_ typically is used with nouns, as indicated in the following examples:

(75) a. I don't know how long they would leave it, but for a _right smart_ while. 31:12
b. Yeah, we could keep it a _right smart_ while in there. 23.(331)
c. Yeah, he had a _right smart_ temper, but he never got mad at me. 153:4

d. I've sold right smart butter. 23:(338)

The most common usage for right smart is with reference to time, half of the examples in our sample occurring with the item while, as in (75a, b). Although it is difficult to specify precisely what the meaning of this item is, the closest synonym seems to be "considerable" or "a good amount of", with the intensification of right adding to the intensification of smart. Thus, sentences like (75a, b) refer to a considerable amount of time while (75d) refers to a considerable amount of butter. Sentence (75c) is a little more difficult to interpret with respect to quantity, although it appears to refer to a great amount of volatility in temper. With certain subclasses of nouns, an alternate for right smart would be right much as in sentences like (76):

(76) a. I can remember being exceptionally quiet and having right much fever. 25:(nc)

b. There has been right much,...er...a lot of publicity. 25:(nc)

With reference to time nouns, the alternate would have to be right long as in (77):

(77) We had a lily pond for a right long while. 25:(nc)

There are also cases of right smart which are used with verbs and adverbs rather than nouns, as in the following sentences:

(78) a. ...and I've lived around right smart too. 85:8

b. I like to draw right smart. 124:19

c. ...traveling with him right smart and he was a-workin'. 24:(140)

In a number of these instances, the meaning seems to refer to a considerable amount of time, the most frequent type of context observed in connection with nouns, although this is not an exclusive meaning in such contexts.

There is an interesting correspondence between the use of right in AE and some historical facts about the form discussed by Stoffel (1901). Right apparently was formerly used as an intensifier before both adjectives and adverbs in much the same way as it is currently used in AE. Instances of this usage, with the sense of completely or very, can be found from writings of the 15th century, and Stoffel cites examples like right rich, right much, right worthy, right cruelly (1901:35-36). It frequently occurred in the writings of Shakespeare but appears to have since disappeared in most varieties of English. Stoffel notes an interesting retention in standard English for certain titles, such as Right Honorable and Right Reverend, but observes that "In other cases, the intensive right usually figures as a conscious archaism." (1901:37-38). Based on evidence of its frequent occurrence in AE, however, the use of right before both adjectives and adverbs has survived in at least one variety of English, with a sense like that of very. The other sense, completely, that Stoffel found in his research to be associated with right is no longer current. The restrictions on the distribution of right in most English varieties which developed, then, apparently have not yet affected AE and the intensifier remains quite common.

Another adverb sometimes considered as a part of this class of intensification words is the item plumb (sometimes spelled plum). Plumb most typically occurs with other adverbs and verbs, as in sentences like the following:

(79) a. And the house burnt plumb down. Nothin' left but the chimney. 10:18
b. If he'd shot hisself, man, he'da blowed his head plumb off. 17:17
c. And me and him jumped from the window plumb over the porch, from the porch, plumb up on the roof. 20:(986)
d. He shot him plumb through like this. 22:24
e. It would scare you plumb to death. 34:(400)

Unlike the items right and right smart, which refer to relative degrees of an attribute, plumb refers to something carried through to completeness. It seems most synonymous with "completely" or "all the way". The notion of completeness must be viewed metaphorically in some instances since phrases such as "scare you plumb to death", a relatively common context for plumb, does not refer to death literally but to the completeness of the state of fright.

It is also possible to find plumb with adjectives, as in sentences like (80):

(80) a. That was plumb foolish. 34:(100)
b. I didn't hear him 'cause I'm plumb asleep. 4:3

Some adjectives may be used with either right or plumb, as in a phrase like *right foolish* (cf. (73e)) or *plumb foolish* (cf. (80a)). The use of *plumb* is stronger than *right* in such cases, so that *plumb foolish* refers to a complete state of foolishness whereas *right foolish* refers to a degree of foolishness not quite as strong. In these contexts, is is observed that *right* is used with both positive (e.g. *good*, *pretty*) and negative (*foolish*, *nasty*) attributes, whereas *plumb* is largely restricted to the latter.

It is also noted, however, that there are some adjectives with which only *plumb* may be used, such as *asleep* in (80b). In a case such as this, it appears that the state of sleeping is something that is conceived of as categorical in nature. We thus get phrases like *plumb asleep* but not *right asleep*. On the other hand, it is possible to form a phrase like *right sleepy* but not *plumb sleepy* since the state of sleepiness is something which is viewed only in terms of relative degrees, the categorical state being sleep itself.

Finally, we should mention something about phrases like *big old*, *great big old* (or *great old big*), *little old*, or just *old*. While there is a degree of literalness which is part of the uses of *big* and *little*, their usage goes beyond that. We have sentences like the following:

(81) a. It's a *great old big* wide piece on top. 10:273
b. There was a *big old* block of wood. 9:(166)
c. Them *old* midwives, you can't beat 'em. 31:(123)
d. This was just a *little old* harmless chicken. 13:(785)
e. Mother packed me a lunch in a *little old* half gallon syrup bucket. 31:19

The term *old* by itself may be used as a term of endearment, in some instances referring to traditional institutions in a somewhat positive light. *Little old* may also be used with some of the same endearing qualities as *old*. There are, however, instances in which there is connotation of harmlessness as it is used with reference to animate objects. Thus, a phrase like *little old snake* would not necessarily mean that the snake is viewed fondly, but simply that it is viewed as harmless. We do not have any examples in our sample in which *great* is used with *little*, but it occurs quite frequently with *big* or *big old*, as in sentences like (81a). Objects which are described as *great big old* or *big old* differ from those qualified with *little old* in that there may be either a positive or negative connotation. For example, in a sentence such as *Paul Bunyan was a great old big guy* (12:536), it appears to be used with a positive connotation, whereas in a sentence like *I told him to stay away from it cause big old rocks is up above it* (10:1109), it is used with reference to a condition which holds some potential for harm. In examples such as these, the qualified object must be considered to be relatively large literally but it is intensified to some degree. Although there are undoubtedly more subtle connotations added when phrases such as these are used, they are somewhat difficult to define specifically at this point.

4.2.4 *-ly* Absence

In English, there is a class of items that may function either adverbially or adjectivally in terms of their usage within a sentence. For some of the items in this class, the form of the item is the same, regardless of whether it ultimately functions as an adverb or an adjective. An item like *fast*, for example, takes the same form in its adverbial (e.g. *He ran fast*) and its adjectival (e.g. *the fast train*) function. There are other items in this class where the adverbial form may, but is not required to take an *-ly* suffix when it functions as an adverb. Thus, an item like *wrong* may or may not take the *-ly* suffix in a sentence such as *He answered wrong(ly)*. In most cases, items like this do not take the *-ly* suffix in the casual speech style of most standard English speakers. There are other cases in standard English, however, where the *-ly* suffix must be present when the item is used in its adverbial function, so that *-ly* would be required when an item like *original* is used adverbially (e.g. *He comes from Virginia originally*). It is quite difficult to specify a formal basis which determines which of these classes an item falls into, although it seems that the frequency with which an item occurs may have something to do with its subclassification in these terms.

While it is difficult to specify the exact basis for the different subclasses, it is quite apparent that there are differences across dialects of English. A number of the items that are required to take the *-ly* suffix in standard English fall into the optional class for AE. The following examples illustrate some of these optional *-ly* forms.

(82) a. I come from Virginia original__. 96:(26)

b. I'm frightful__ scared of spiders. 28:(285)
c. It certain__ was some reason. 37:(321)
d. ...if they pray sincere__. 160:(1101)
e. An organ player's terrible__ hard to follow. 155:(55)
f. ...dated regular__. 31:(302)
g. ...enjoyed life awful__ well. 31:(34)
h. ...until recent__. 162:(747)
i. I actual__ believe they do. 163:(724)

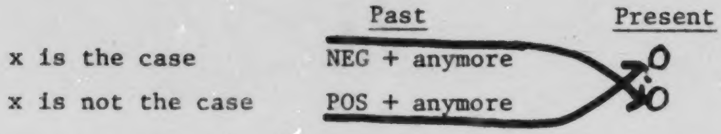
In the above list, the *-ly* absence on some of the forms seems much more socially obtrusive than others. For some items like *awful* and *terrible* it would not be unusual to find speakers of mainstream varieties using them without the *-ly* suffix in their most casual styles of speech, while items like *original* and *certain* would always be expected to have the *-ly*. It appears that the social stigmatization of *-ly* absence is more of a continuum related to particular items than a clear-cut distinction between an obvious standard form and its socially stigmatized non-mainstream counterpart.

4.2.5 Positive *Anymore*

One of the interesting divergences in English syntax involves the use of the adverb *anymore*. All varieties of English can apparently use the adverb *anymore* in negative sentences of the type given below.

(83) a. I don't like T.V. *anymore*.
b. He didn't live there *anymore*.
c. Why wasn't he there *anymore*?

In sentences like (83), *anymore* is used in a negative context with reference to something which took place or was characteristic of past time but is no longer the case. As mentioned above, this particular usage of *anymore* is common in most varieties of English. There are, however, cases in which *anymore* is used in positive sentences, with a meaning of "nowadays". In positive sentences like *I like T.V. anymore* or *He lives there anymore*, *anymore* refers to a situation or activity which was not true in the past, but is characteristic of the present. The relationship between the use of *anymore* in negative and positive sentences has been diagrammed by Labov (1973:72) as follows:



While speakers who come from regions where anymore is only used in negative contexts may find the use of positive anymore rather obtrusive, native speakers of varieties where positive anymore is current tend not to view it as a socially diagnostic linguistic feature.

Current studies of anymore in positive sentences have identified it as characteristic of regions within the Midland settlement area of the United States. Its usage in regions of Appalachia is fully attested by the following types of sentences from our sample.

(84) a. She's more northern than she is southern anymore. 149:(1094)
b. I mean things are getting worser anymore 'n what they used to be. 108:(413)
c. Even in the small towns anymore it's getting like that. 155:(199)
d. Anymore, all the guys you get ahold of just don't think that way. 66:(63)
e. What it is anymore, people have wrote so much music, it's difficult to find a tune that hadn't been written already. 155:(1114)

The above examples show that anymore may be placed at the end of the clause or at the beginning, including the phrase what it is anymore. This use of anymore is found to be fairly extensive in the speech of some AE speakers. While it has been noted (cf. Labov 1973:66) that this form is used frequently in parts of "western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and parts of Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Utah and other western states, and is apparently spreading to other parts of the United States", it is apparent that its use in AE is fairly stable and has been for some time. A number of our examples from AE come from older residents of Appalachia who have had limited contact with outsiders.

4.2.6 Adverbial but

When combined with a negativized verb phrase, but can be used in AE to refer to a single fact or instance. Consider, for example, the use of *but* in the following types of sentences:

(85) a. He *don't* come to see me *but* oncet a month. 66:(65)
b. I *ain't* never seen him for *but* one time since he went in the army. 77:(998)
c. He *ain't but* thirteen. 121:(96)
d. I *didn't* attend *but* one of them. 32:(100)
e. In the whole thing, it *wouldn't* be *but* forty people. 34:(300)

In contexts such as those cited in (85), *but* is observed to have an exclusive or single reference which corresponds to adverbs such as "only" or "merely" in other varieties of English. In this usage, *but* is quite different from its use as a conjunction introducing a dependent clause, as in a sentence like *I wanted to go, but I couldn't* or *It's not red, but blue*. In sentences such as these, *but* operates as a conjunction outside the clause with the negativized verb phrase, while for sentences like those in (85) the negativized verb phrase and *but* are co-occurring items within the same clause.

The usage of *but* with the negativized verb phrases in AE seems to parallel an adverbial usage of *but* with positive verb phrases in some varieties of English, as in a sentence like *He's but a child*. A sentence like this would be used only for elegant emphasis and is relatively rare in most varieties of standard English. In AE, as in other varieties of southern origin, the negativized verb phrase with *but* is certainly not socially prestigious, although it does not seem to be particularly stigmatized either. It does, however, appear to occur in more emphatic contexts than the contexts in which adverbs such as *only* or *merely* are used. There also appear to be subtle differences between the use of adverbial *but* in negative sentences by AE speakers and the corresponding usage of adverbial *but* in positive sentences. In positive sentences, it is found almost exclusively with the copula *be*, while the use of *but* with the negativized verb phrase occurs in less restricted types of contexts, as indicated in (85). *But* in positive sentences also seems to suggest a characterization that exceeds the expectation of the subject. Thus, it is most appropriate in a context like *He's but a child, although he plays the guitar like a man*. We would not typically expect it to occur in a context such as *He's but a child so* *we didn't expect him to play the guitar very well*. *But* with a negativized verb phrase does not necessarily carry this attitudinal aspect.

4.2.7 *Druther*

It seems fairly obvious that the use of the form *druther* by AE speakers originally derived from *would rather*, where the contraction of the modal resulted in *'d rather* and eventually became simply *druther*. There are ample examples of this form in AE, as attested in the following citations:

(86) a. In some ways I *druther* have a good bicycle. 2:(1241)
b. *Druther* than seein' him lose his crop, why they would come right there to help him do all this kinda work. 30:(562)
c. Would you *druther* I did something I didn't want to do. 155:(1019)

Although *druther* was apparently derived historically through the contraction process described above, it has become lexicalized as a separate word. We thus find that it can occur in contexts other than those where it might be related to the contraction of *would* (cf. (86b)) and even occurs with a form of *would*, as in (86c). AE speakers now treat it as a simple correspondence for *rather* rather than a correspondence for *would rather* or *d'rather*.

4.2.8 *Adverbial Lexical Differences*

In addition to the adverbial differences discussed above, there are a number of other differences which simply involve single lexical items or phrases and which will not be treated in any detail here. Below is given an illustrative list of some of these lexical differences found for AE vis-à-vis other varieties of English. Many of these are simply southern in origin and not peculiar to AE, whereas others appear to be used only by AE speakers (see Kurath 1949).

A number of the items in Table 28 are obviously due to phonological changes which have lexicalized as different forms (e.g. *t'all*, *pert'near*) while others involve differences in the semantic territory covered by a particular lexical item (e.g. *yet*, *subject*). Some of these items occur fairly commonly within AE while others are used more infrequently, although we have not systematically studied the distribution of these forms among AE speakers.

AE Verb	SE Correspondence	Illustrative Sentence
yet, still yet	still	I yet eat a lot of honey. 32:(500)
subject	likely	If you use Ajax or Comet, it's subject to kill 'em. 40:(403)
some of these days	one of these days	It'll get better some of these days. 31:11
along about (with reference to time)	about	We tromped through the woods 'till along about six o'clock in the morning. 31:27
this day and time	nowadays	...that the girls this day and time cook so much better. 31:17
dang	darn	You're dang tootin'. 31:28
to boot	as well	They can see every direction and straight up to boot at the same time. 31:28
yonder	there (considerable distance)	I've got an old horse way back up yonder. 146:8
pert 'near	nearly, almost	...need trees that're pert 'near square. 45:(17)
t'all	at all	I wasn't sure that nothing wasn't gonna come up t'all. 35:23
for sure	sure, certain	I'm not for sure. 149:(347)

Table 28. Some Illustrative Lexical Differences in AE Adverbs

4.3 Negation

Several of the most widely-known socially diagnostic features of American English concern aspects of negation. One of these concerns the formation of negative sentences with indefinite forms and the other the use of the lexical item ain't.

4.3.1 Multiple Negation

One of the stereotyped features of social dialects throughout American English concerns the use of what has traditionally been termed "double negation" or multiple negation. Sentences like He didn't do nothin' come to mind immediately in connection with the speech of most non-mainstream varieties. As pointed out by Wolfram and Fasold (1974:163-166), the rules that govern such constructions in non-mainstream varieties are completely regular and somewhat complex. While both standard and non-mainstream varieties share certain rules governing negation, there are also differences in some of the rules. We shall not attempt to give in detail the types of rules needed to govern the various types of negation in English, but it is necessary to summarize some of the main points here in order to understand the rules governing multiple negation in AE.

To begin with, we note that negation typically ranges over an entire sentence as the notion of sentence is defined by most modern grammarians. Because of this, it has been suggested that, in an abstract representation of the sentence, a negative element is generated separated from the main constituents of the sentence and then placed in the appropriate place within the sentence through the series of rules that eventually lead to the spoken form of the sentence. In this abstract formulation of the sentence, for example, a negative element (usually represented simply as NOT) might be placed before the main constituents of the sentence such as a Noun Phrase and a Verb Phrase (i.e. have a representation such as S → (NOT) NP + VP where the parentheses indicate that a negative element may optionally be chosen for a sentence in addition to the constituents Noun Phrase and Verb Phrase which are found in every sentence).

From this abstract formulation we then incorporate the negative into the sentence in the appropriate places. The first rule which governs the incorporation of the negative within the sentence places it within the Verb Phrase. This rule is given by Wolfram and Fasold (1974:163) as:

> Rule 1. In a negative sentence, place NOT in the main verb phrase.

This rule places the negative element NOT (with its various forms to be accounted for later by the pronunciation rules of English) after an auxiliary or be, as in He didn't do it, He couldn't help the man, or He was not there. In other words, this rule places NOT at the proper place within the Verb Phrase. This rule, of course, is found in all varieties of English.

The second rule is related to indefinite items such as any, anything, anybody, and so forth, when they precede the main verb in a sentence. This rule is stated by Wolfram and Fasold as follows:

> Rule 2. In a negative sentence, if there is an indefinite element preceding the main verb, remove NOT from the main verb phrase and incorporate it into the indefinite element.
>
> (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:163)

This rule accounts for the fact that a preverbal indefinite such as anything takes the negative element from the main verb phrase when it precedes it. Thus a sentence like Nobody did the work comes from a sentence like Anybody + do + NOT + the + work. Rule 2 takes the NOT from the main phrase and places it within the preverbal indefinite anybody, leading to the sentence Nobody did the work. This again is a rule needed in all varieties of English since we do not get sentences like Anybody doesn't do the work in any variety of English.

The third rule concerns indefinite elements that follow the main verb of a sentence. The rule(s) governing this have both standard and non-mainstream versions of the rule. Again following Wolfram and Fasold, we state Rule 3a as follows:

> Rule 3a. (Standard English Version) For elegant emphasis, remove NOT from the main verb phrase and incorporate it in the first indefinite after the main verb phrase.
>
> (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:163)

This rule accounts for the fact that we have sentences like He did nothing which may alternate with forms like He didn't do anything in standard English. Whereas Rules 1 and 2 MUST apply in order to account for grammatical English sentences, Rule 3a is optional; that is, it may or may not apply. Rule 3a takes the negative element from the main verb phrase and moves it to the first indefinite following the main verb phrase. Whereas it has been argued that some non-mainstream varieties never apply Rule 3a, it seems that AE speakers can apply this rule, although they may not apply it as frequently as some standard English speakers do.

The second version of Rule 3 is one which applies to many non-mainstream varieties of English. Wolfram and Fasold state this rule as follows:

> Rule 3b. (First Nonstandard Version). For emphasis, incorporate a copy of the NOT which is in the main verb phrase in all indefinites after the main verb phrase, but leave the original NOT intact.
>
> (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:164)

This rule produces the traditional cases of double or multiple negatives that are illustrated by the sentences in (87) from our AE speakers:

(87) a. They *don't* have *no* work in the winter. 35:16
b. I didn't have *nothin'* to do for these stitches. 36:9
c. I *ain't* goin' back *no more*. 36:27
d. They *didn't* see *no* baby, you know, *didn't* see *none nowhere*. 37:29

Since Rule 3b can affect as many indefinites as follow the main verb in a sentence, it appears more accurate to refer to this copying of the negative on the indefinites as multiple rather than simply "double" negation.

We should parenthetically note, at this point, that multiple negation can also be expressed with the negative adverbs *hardly* and *never*, as well as its incorporation into ANY. Multiple negation can be expressed by a negative adverb and also by another negative element within the same sentence. The result is sentences like *He can't hardly see his face* or *He hardly never comes to see us*. It has been noted that standard English speakers who avoid other types of multiple negation may sometimes use multiple negatives of this type.

One of the questions that arises with respect to Rule 3b is the extent of its application in a given non-mainstream variety of English. For some non-mainstream varieties, it appears that this rule MUST operate and there is virtually no fluctuation between forms like *He didn't do nothin'* and *He didn't do anything*. AE, however, does not appear to be one of these varieties and most speakers do show fluctuation between multiple negation and its singly negated counterpart. To examine the extent of multiple negation following Rule 3b in AE, we have examined the frequency levels at which various speakers are shown to apply the multiple negation rule. These frequencies have been tabulated for 25 speakers representing 5 speakers of the age levels examined in this study. The graph given below indicates the frequency range of multiple negation for these speakers. Frequencies are based on the number of actually realized multiple negatives in relation to the cases where multiple negation might have potentially applied. That is, a sentence like He didn't do nothin' would be considered as an actual case of multiple negation while a sentence like He didn't do anything would be considered as a potential instance of multiple negation which was not realized. The distribution of these 25 speakers is given in terms of five arbitrarily delimited frequency ranges: 80-100 per cent, 60-79 per cent, 40-59 per cent, 20-39 per cent, and 0-19 per cent multiple negation.

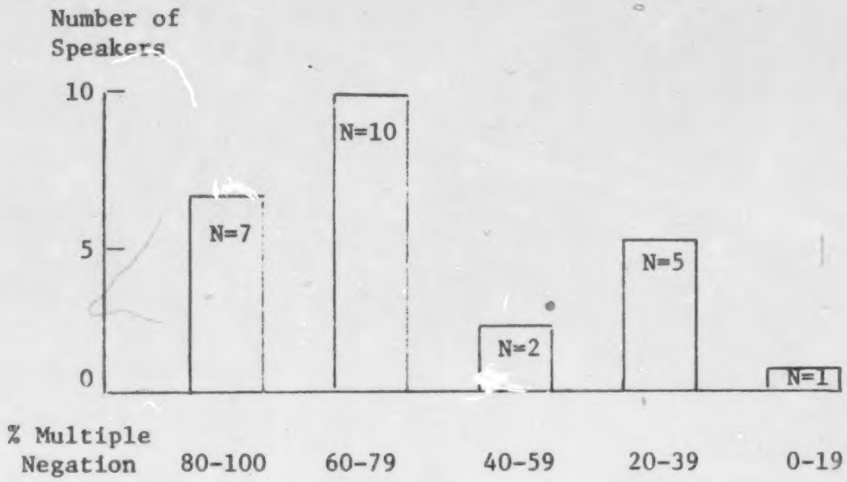


Figure 5. Distribution of AE Speakers with Respect to the Extent of Multiple Negation

We see in Figure 5 that all of the speakers in this subsample use the multiple negation rule to some extent, and that the majority of them use it in well over half of all the instances in which they might have used it. Only one speaker in this sample, however, uses it in all the cases where it might have been used. There are only a few speakers who use multiple negation in the middle ranges of frequency usage; the majority use a predominance of multiple negation while a minority use a predominance of its singly negated counterpart.

At this point, we may ask how the relative frequency of multiple negation in AE compares with the frequency of multiple negation found in studies of other non-mainstream varieties. In Table 29, we present the extent of multiple negation found in other studies as compared with the figures for AE. The figures for the other mainstream varieties included in this comparison are taken from the table presented in Wolfram (1974a:170). Two statistics are given for each of the groups. First, we give the percentage of multiple negation found in each of the groups. For our AE speakers, the percentage represents the mean percentage for the group of five speakers representing each of the age groups. In addition to this statistic, we present, where available, the number of speakers in each sample where multiple negation is used categorically; that is, the number of speakers out of the total sample who apply the multiple negation rule (Rule 3b) in all cases where it might have been applied.

Varieties of English	% Multiple Negation	Number of Categorical Multiple Negation Users Out of Total Number of Subjects[7]
Puerto Rican English		
East Harlem (NYC)	87.4	12/27
Vernacular Black English		
Jets (NYC)	97.9	11/13
Detroit	77.8	4/12
East Harlem (NYC)	97.8	7/10
White Northern Non-Standard English		
Inwood (NYC)	81.0	2/8
Detroit	56.3	No Data
Appalachian English		
Age 7-11	72.8	1/5
Age 12-14	62.5	0/5
Age 15-18	61.8	0/5
Age 20-40	68.2	0/5
Age 40+	53.1	0/5

Table 29. Comparison of Multiple Negation as Indicated in Various Social Dialects of American English

The extent of multiple negation related to post-verbal indefinites in AE appears to compare more favorably with the figures found for other non-mainstream White varieties of English than a variety like Vernacular Black English, the frequency levels falling within the figures based on a group of White teen-aged peers in New York City and a cross-section of the working class White population in Detroit. While the younger speakers of AE show a slightly greater degree of multiple negation than do the older speakers (cf. for example the 7-11 and 40+ age groups), we do not find a consistent decrease in multiple negation with progressively increasing age level delimitations. Multiple negation following Rule 3b is fairly well distributed among all age groups of AE speakers.

It is interesting to note that multiple negation as we have discussed it in the preceding paragraphs is a rule which is well documented in the history of the English language. Citations from Old and Middle English abound where the multiple negation copying rule can be shown to be the predominant if not the exclusive pattern for forming negatives with indefinites. For example, Williams (1975:280) notes the following types of sentences from Early Middle English:

(88) a. There nas no man nowhere so vertuous.
b. Ne taketh nothing to hold of no men ne of no womman.
c. Ne mon nule don hym no good. (No man ne-will do him no good.)

Quite clearly, allowing only one negative element to appear in a sentence was a relatively recent change in the dialect of Early Modern English that became recognized as the standard English norm. Williams observes:

> The change requiring that only one NEG appear in a sentence is a relatively recent rule in the dialect of Early ModE that has become standard. In fact, it is one of the few instances where prescriptive grammarians may have encouraged a tendency already at work. Standard Early ModE had already begun to favor single negation before the prescription against multiple negatives appeared in usage books of the eighteenth century. When prescriptive grammars like Lowth's extremely influential Short Introduction to English Grammar stated that...two Negatives in English destroy one another, or are equivalent to an affirmative, the tendency was simply defined as the logically prescriptive norm for standard speakers. His advice has been repeated so often and so strongly that few English speakers who have endured our educational system can fail to recognize that No one didn't have no money is not a favored construction among educated speakers, despite the weight of respectable English history behind it and the testimony of numerous

> other languages in which multiple negation is not factored out like an algebraic formula, languages in which the more negatives there are in a sentence, the more negative it is.
>
> (Williams 1975:280-281)

Whereas a multiple negation rule copying the negative element on indefinites following the verb was once a general pattern of English, a change to a pattern which allowed only one negative element became the norm associated with standard English. The effect of the older multiple negation rule (i.e. Rule 3b), however, is still quite characteristic of all non-mainstream varieties of English to some extent.

Although the effect of multiple negation following Rule 3b may be observed to some extent in all non-mainstream varieties of English, there is another version of this rule which is somewhat more limited in its scope. This rule is stated by Wolfram and Fasold (1974:164) as follows:

> Rule 3c. (Second Nonstandard English version) For emphasis, incorporate a copy of the NOT which is in the main verb phrase or the pre-verbal indefinite into the main verb phrase (if it is not there already) and all indefinites after the main verb phrase, but leave the original NOT intact.

This rule allows (or places) the negative element on the indefinite before the verb phrase to be copied into the main verb phrase and any additional indefinites that may follow the verb phrase. The effect of this rule produces sentences like Nobody don't like it, meaning "Nobody likes it". In standard English it is possible to interpret this sentence something like "Everybody likes it" because of the tendency to interpret the two negatives as cancelling each other.

Sentences in which Rule 3c applies can be found among various speakers of AE, as indicated by the following sentences:

(89) a. Nobody didn't see him. 152:(625)
b. Nobody couldn't handle him. 36:(463)
c. Nothin' hadn't come up. 35:23
d. Nobody else won't move in it, I know I ain't. 36:18
e. Nobody wouldn't say nothin' about it. 17:21

AE is like some other southern varieties of English and Vernacular Black English in its application of Rule 3c. It is, however, different from some northern non-mainstream varieties which do not appear to have a rule like 3c.

Apparently related to Rule 3c is another rule that is found in some southern varieties of English and Vernacular Black English. This is a rule which moves an auxiliary verb which has been negativized to a position before a pre-verbal indefinite. This rule may be given as follows:

Rule 4. A negativized auxiliary in the main verb phrase which follows an indefinite may be placed immediately preceding the pre-verbal indefinite in a declarative sentence.

The application of this rule means that a sentence such as *Nobody didn't do it* may be transposed to *Didn't nobody do it*. The negativized auxiliary *didn't* is simply moved to a position in front of the indefinite *nobody*. It is important to note that this is a declarative rather than a question sentence. The difference between this declarative and a question sentence (since questions also involve an inversion of this type) may be impossible to determine in writing, but it is quite clear in spoken language since question or declarative intonational patterns will be followed depending on the intended usage.[8] We get negative inversion in sentences such as the following:

(90) a. *Didn't nobody* get hurt or nothin'. 18:(493)

b. It had this room that *wouldn't nobody* stay in. 45:(175)

c. *Hain't nobody* hardly believed it. 85:13

d. *Wasn't nothin'* but acorns on the ground...and *wasn't nobody* there. 22:26

Typically, this inversion affects auxiliaries such as *don't* or *didn't*, *won't* or *wouldn't*, *can't* or *couldn't* and *ain't* or *wasn't*. While most cases of this type also involve multiple negation, it is possible to apply this rule without multiple negation applying, giving sentences such as *Won't anybody do it* or *Can't anybody do it*. The single negative version is more characteristic of middle class speakers, who would be more prone to avoid the application of this rule to begin with. It is, however, occasionally found in this form.

In some cases involving the forms *ain't* and *wasn't*, it appears that the expletive *there* (which may also be *they* or *it* in AE as discussed in Section 4.4.5) is deleted from the actual sentence so that a sentence such as *Ain't nobody there* may come from *There ain't nobody there*. If there is an actual expletive *there* which has been deleted, the ordering of the negativized auxiliary before the indefinite may be due to a process different from that described in Rule 4. (Note, for example, the identical order of the analogous standard English sentence There isn't anybody there.)

One final aspect of multiple negation should be noted here, although it apparently is quite infrequent even in those varieties of English where it has been found. This is the special case of multiple negation which applies across clauses, negativizing the auxiliary in the second clause. It has been noted that a sentence like There wasn't much I couldn't do may mean something like "There wasn't much I could do" in some varieties of English. The same sentence interpreted by a standard English speaker would usually have the opposite meaning, since the negatives across clauses would be expected to cancel each other. A sentence such as (91) appears to follow this pattern of multiple negation as described by Labov (1972c:193):

(91) I wasn't sure that nothin wasn't gonna come up a'tall.
35:23

The meaning of this sentence, as indicated by the context in which it was uttered, is that the speaker wasn't sure that anything was going to come up. Sentences of this type, as noted above, are actually quite rare even in those varieties of English which do allow this type of construction. It has been claimed by Labov (Labov 1972c:193) that these constructions are unique to Vernacular Black English among non-mainstream varieties of English. They are, however, also found in AE, although admittedly quite rarely, just as in Vernacular Black English.

We may conclude our discussion of multiple negation by looking at where AE fits into the continuum of English varieties with respect to the use of multiple negation. This can be done through a table which shows the relationship of various dialects of English to each other. Four main aspects of multiple negation are delimited to the chart: (1) copying of the negative element on post-verbal indefinites in addition to the negative element in the main verb phrase (i.e. sentences like He didn't do nothin'), (2) the copying of the negative on a pre-verbal indefinite and the main verb phrase (i.e. sentences like Nobody can't do it), (3) inversion of the negativized auxiliary and the pre-verbal indefinite (i.e. sentences like Can't nobody do it), and (4) application of the negative to an auxiliary in another clause. In this table, three different symbols are used to represent the operation of the rules; 1 is used to indicate the categorical operation of multiple negation (i.e. it is used in all cases where it might be used), *X* is used to indicate that it is used variably (i.e. it sometimes applies but not in all cases), and a *0* is used to indicate that it is never used (i.e. it categorically does not apply).

English Dialect(s)	Post-Verbal Indefinites	Pre-Verbal Ind/Neg Aux.	Negative Inversion	Neg. Aux. Across Clauses
Standard English	0	0	0	0
Some Northern White Varieties	X	0	0	0
Other Northern White Varieties	X	X	0	0
Some Southern White Varieties	X	X	X	0
Appalachian English	X	X	X	X
Vernacular Black English	1	X	X	X

Table 30. Comparison of Various Dialects of English with Respect to Different Types of Multiple Negation

As indicated in the above table, AE is more distant from standard English than most northern varieties of English and is more like southern varieties of English, including Vernacular Black English. The one main difference between Vernacular Black English and AE is the extent of multiple negation with post-verbal indefinites, where Vernacular Black English reveals categorical and AE shows variable application of multiple negation.

4.3.2 The Use of *ain't*

One of the shibboleths of social dialects in American English concerns the form *ain't*. It has become a popular stereotype of non-mainstream English and teachers often spend a great deal of time attempting to eradicate its usage. This was not always the case, as there is evidence to indicate that it was used freely by many upper middle class educated speakers of the southern part of England as late as the turn of the century (Williams 1975:277).

Despite attempts to eradicate this form, it still persists in many non-mainstream varieties of English.

Originally, there were two sources from which the form *ain't* was derived. First of all, it was derived from a contraction of *have* + *not*, where *have* or *has* + *not* became *han't*, which became *hain't*, and eventually *ain't*. As we saw previously (cf. Section 3.6), the *hain't* form still persists as a form in AE along with the form *ain't*. The second source of *ain't* comes from a contraction of *am* + *not*, where *am* + *not* became *amn't*, then changed to *aan't* and eventually *ain't*. In most non-mainstream varieties of English, the correspondence for *am* + *not* became generalized to include *isn't* and *aren't* as well. And, by analogy with the form derived from *have* + *not*, the *hain't* alternant was used for the *be* + *not* forms as well. In some varieties, such as Vernacular Black English, a third correspondence developed, namely, the use of *ain't* for *didn't*, so that we have constructions such as *He ain't go to the store* in this variety (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:162).

AE appears to be much like other non-mainstream varieties of English in its use of *ain't*. Along with the alternate pronunciation as *hain't* discussed previously, it can be used as a contracted form for negative perfect constructions.

(92) a. I *ain't* been 'ere. 49:(24)
b. I've walked by there in the night, but I *ain't heared* nothin', so I *ain't* scared. 18:(365)
c. Tell 'em I *ain't* never believed in 'em. 46:(212)

Likewise, it can be used for the present tense negative contracted forms of *be* + *not*, corresponding to *am* + *not*, *isn't* or *aren't* as seen in examples (93):

(93) a. No, it *ain't* no speed a'tall. 47:(38)
b. Well, *hain't* that awful. 83:(1266)
c. They *hain't* any higher now accordin' that they was. 83:(1139)
d. That's the reason I *ain't* a-goin'. 85:(447)
e. I *hain't* scared. 134"(329)

While we see that *ain't* is used for the *have*/*has* + *not* contracted forms and the present tense forms of *be* + *ing*, we do not observe its usage for *didn't* in AE (i.e. there are no cases such as *He ain't go to the store*). In this regard, its use in AE appears to be more like other non-mainstream

White varieties spoken in the North and South than it is like Vernacular Black English.

The usage of *ain't* is fairly extensive in AE, perhaps moreso than some other non-mainstream varieties of English. In the following table, the extent of *ain't* usage is tabulated for 25 AE speakers, the same sample chosen for the tabulation of multiple negation in the last section (4.3.1). In the table, frequency of *ain't* is tabulated in relation to its corresponding standard English form (i.e. *aren't*/*isn't* or *haven't*/*hasn't*). Figures are not given for *am* + *not* since there does not exist a contracted standard English form corresponding to *ain't* (i.e. We don't get *amn't*).[9]

Age	Number ain't	Number aren't/isn't	% ain't	Number ain't	Number haven't/hasn't	% ain't
7-11	17	1	94.4	18	1	94.7
12-14	16	0	100.0	4	6	40.0
15-18	9	1	90.0	4	5	44.4
20-40	15	0	100.0	18	9	66.7
40+	24	3	88.9	5	2	71.4
TOTAL	81	5	94.2	49	23	68.1

Table 31. Extent of *ain't* for Five Age Levels of AE Speakers

Several observations can be made on the basis of Table 31. In the first place, we see that there are very few instances of the form *isn't* and *aren't*; in fact, we have only four cases of *isn't* and one case of *aren't*. For most AE speakers, we can therefore conclude that *ain't* is almost categorically used instead of the standard English correspondences *isn't* and *aren't*. We note, by contrast, that the negativized contractions *haven't*/*hasn't* are more variable in the speech of most of the AE speakers in our sample, although *ain't* tends to be used more frequently than *haven't*/*hasn't*. Finally, we note that there does not appear to be any significant difference in the extent of *ain't* usage across age groups. It is used to a considerable extent by all five different age groups represented here. This is quite unlike a number of other linguistic features found in AE, which apparently are in the process of fairly rapid change. Despite attempts to eradicate the use of *ain't* by many teachers, it is found to be quite alive and well in the spontaneous speech of most AE speakers. While *ain't* usage is socially diagnostic to some extent in AE, its usage does not appear to be as socially stigmatized as it may be in some northern contexts.

4.4 Nominals

Another main category which exhibits a number of cross-dialectal differences is that of the nominals. This includes various aspects of the noun phrase, including pronominal forms.

4.4.1 Plurals

Studies of some non-mainstream varieties of English have indicated there is a pattern in which the plural form typically represented by *-s* (or *-es*) in spelling, is occasionally absent. This pattern is well documented for various regional areas (e.g. Allen 1971:91). In AE, plurals may be absent, but the pattern is limited almost exclusively to nouns of weight and measure. For nouns of this type, the pattern of *-s* or *-es* absence is quite extensive for some speakers. Following are examples of nouns typically affected by this pattern and instances from our sample.

(94) *Pound*
    a. Ten hundred pound_ of nails. 4:(343)
    b. ...75 or 80 pound_. 22:(243)
    c. ...two pound_ of butter. 28:(130)

(95) *Gallon*
    a. ...two gallon_ of moonshine. 20:(462)
    b. ...three, four gallon_ of that. 31:(246)
    c. ...so many gallon_. 32:(500)

(96) *Bushel*
    a. ...18, 19 bushel load_. 36:(38)
    b. I don't know how many bushel_. 70:(74)
    c. We had eleven bushel_. 160:(304)

(97) *Inch*
    a. It's 41 inch__. 85:(107)
    b. It's just 36 inch__. 85:(180)

(98) *Feet*
    a. ...a thousand *foot* off the road. 30:(319)
    b. ...four *foot* through the stump. 31:(408)
    c. ...three *foot* of them. 31:(466)

(99) Mile

a. ...about two mile_ to the store. 23:(131)

b. ...three mile_, maybe two mile_. 23:(145)

c. ...ten mile_ to one another's house. 22:(93)

(100) Year

a. ...20 year_ ago. 30:(26)

b. She stayed single for 14 year_. 30:(488)

c. ...for about some 20 year_. 83:(268)

(101) Month

a. He was about three month_ old. 83:(108)

b. ...for three month_. 83:(126)

c. ...a couple of month_. 83:(229)

(102) Hour

a. ...eight, nine hour_. 23:10

b. ...in three hour_. 22:(253)

c. ...in about three hour_. 22:(253)

The pattern of plural absence for nouns of weight and measure is predominant when the noun is preceded by a numeral such as ten pound or two mile. It is much more sporadic with non-numeral quantifiers such as many pound or few bushel, and some speakers restrict this rule exclusively to items with preceding numerals. The absence of -s also appears to be less frequent on nouns of time (e.g. month, year) and is relatively rare on monetary nouns (such as dollar). (Absence does, however, appear to be more frequent on the item cent as in 50 cent 2:(57).) There are occasional instances in which plural -s is absent following other nouns (e.g. he had two pillow 9:(163), he heard two shot 14:(815)) but these are so infrequent (less than 1 per cent out of all instances in which they might be absent) that no regular pattern for other types of plural absence has been found.

In addition to the pattern of -s absence with nouns of weight and measure, some AE speakers have a tendency to regularize those plural forms which are formed by irregular changes in English. In mainstream varieties of English, for example, the plural of man is formed by an internal change within the word (i.e. men) rather than the addition of the -s plural. And some items such as sheep or deer have the same form in the plural as in the singular (e.g. four deer, four sheep). Items such as these, however, may be regularized in AE. The following types of examples illustrate the regularization process.

(103) a. snowmans 129:(159)
b. watermelons 121:(250)
c. aspirins 138:(214)
d. firemans 157:(1046)
e. squashes 35:(2)
f. deers 162:(853)

In some cases involving irregular forms the internal change may be made in addition to the regular -s plural suffix, as indicated by the examples in (104):

(104) a. oxens 85:(790)
b. policemens 44:(84)
c. peoples 108:(97)
d. mens 56:(223)

The regularization process noted above does not appear to occur as frequently in AE as it does in other non-mainstream varieties of English such as Vernacular Black English. It is much more typical of younger speakers of AE, and seems to be a phenomenon which is age-graded.

We should further note the use of what has been labeled the "associative plural" construction and them. In constructions such as Holly and 'em was goin' down through the river (52:270) or Becky and 'em ain't comin' the construction and 'em is used to indicate those who are associated with the specific person named in the first part of the coordinate construction. This pattern in AE has also been found in several other non-mainstream varieties.

In addition to the grammatical aspects of plural formation which we have discussed above, we should mention one pattern of regularization which actually involves the phonological shape of the word. There is, in English, a small set of nouns in which the final voiceless fricative sound becomes voiced when the plural is added. Once the final sound becomes voiced, the z form is added instead of the usual s form which is added to voiceless forms. Items which typify this set are wife and leaf, which become wives and leaves respectively. In AE, as in some other non-mainstream varieties of English, these forms may be regularized so that s is added to the final voiceless segment of the base word. This results in pronunciations of leaves and wives as leafs and wifes respectively in their plural form.

4.4.2 Definite Articles with Terms for Illness and Disease

Among the various uses of the definite article *the* in English is its function before some non-technical names of diseases. We thus find that *the* is permissible before diseases such as *the measles*, *the flu*, or *the mumps*. While the definite article may be used with these disease nouns in most varieties of English, it is typically not found when the noun refers to a more general condition of illness, such as *toothache*, *stomachache*, or *cold*. In these cases, only the indefinite article is used, giving us *a toothache*, *a stomachache*, or *a cold*. There are also other cases where neither a definite nor indefinite article can be used with an illness or disease, such as *colic* or *cramps*. In AE, the class of illness and disease nouns taking the article *the* is considerably broader than is found in some other varieties of English. We thus encounter the following types of examples:

(105) a. ...if you had *the toothache*. 163:(235)
b. What about *the earache*? 164:(908)
c. ...if I taken *the cold*. 160:(421)
d. ...when she had *the colic* or the *stomachache*. 156:(375)
e. You kinda got *the chills* or something, that's when you start takin' *the cramps*. 156:(409)

In the above examples it is observed that *the* is found with nouns that take neither the definite nor indefinite article in other varieties of English (cf. 105d, e) as well as those that may only take an indefinite article (cf. 105a-c). At one period in the English language, it was much more common to use the definite article with diseases, but a gradual change eliminated it with many types of illness or disease. The article was completely eliminated from some diseases and became optional with others, so that the article before *measles* or *mumps* is now optional in many varieties of English (i.e. *the measles* or *measles*; *the mumps* or *mumps*). AE is simply one of those varieties of English where the older, more expansive pattern of article usage before diseases has been retained to some degree.

4.4.3 Pronouns

There are few, if any, pronominal forms found among AE speakers that are unique to this variety among American English dialects. Some of the forms found in AE are common to most non-mainstream varieties of English; others are found only in English varieties of southern origin.

4.4.3.1 Reflexive Pronouns

Like most varieties of non-mainstream English in both the north and south, AE may add the form self to all personal pronouns. This is different from standard English, where first and second person are formed with the possessive pronoun (i.e. myself, yourself, ourselves, yourselves), but the third person reflexives are formed with the accusative form (i.e. himself, herself, itself, themselves). In AE, as in other non-mainstream varieties, the possessive form is simply extended to third person reflexive forms as well, resulting in forms such as hisself (e.g. a man hung hisself 28:(44), If he'd shot hisself 17:699)) and theirselves or theirself(e.g. They doctored them theirself 35:(46); out in the wild theirself 163:(751)). It is noted that theirself is preferred over theirselves, so that a distinction between the singular form self and the plural form selves may not be operative with reflexives. (By the same token, forms like ourselves and yourselves may be ourself and yourself respectively.) AE is unlike some other varieties of southern origin in that theyself does not typically occur as an alternate for theirself (cf. Section 4.4.5).

4.4.3.2 Object Pronoun Forms

AE is also similar to most other non-mainstream varieties of English in its use of the subject and object forms of pronouns. Forms such as me, him, her, us and them, in addition to their function as objective forms, may function as subjects in coordinate constructions, giving us sentences such as Me and him and the rest of the boys gets out there and plays football (52:(217)) or Me and my baby goes back and sleeps the day (36:(6)). These same forms cannot occur in non-coordinate constructions, however, so that we do not observe forms such as Me plays football or Me sleeps the day as a part of AE. In this regard, AE is quite like most non-mainstream varieties of English. The reference to forms such as me or them as objective forms is, of course, somewhat of a misnomer in terms of their current function, since their usage has clearly expanded to certain non-objective functions.

We also find demonstrative forms such as them in AE corresponding to those in standard varieties of English, in sentences such as Them boys got killed up there at Morgan (121:(665)), Was that one about them guys (49:(93)). AE is also among those varieties of Engish that can add here and there to the demonstrative, giving us phrases such as *this here one* (47:(605)) or *this here bonded stuff* (85:(117)). In several cases, it was observed that *this here* became a fixed phrase occurring with both single and plural noun forms (e.g. *this here guys* 49:(36)). The use of demonstratives in AE is similar to that found generally among non-mainstream varieties of American English.

4.4.3.3 Possessive Pronouns with -n

One type of pronoun sometimes associated with AE is the possessive in which *-n* is added to the pronoun, giving forms such as *yourn*, *hisn*, *hern*, *ourn*, and *theirn* (see also McDavid 1971:471). This particular possessive formation is historically derived from the older English possessive formation *-en* which developed originally in the south and midland of England. It is still retained in other dialects of English in items such as *mine* and *thine* from *my* and *thy* respectively. The *-n* possessive formation is found only when the pronoun form occurs in an absolute position (e.g. *It's yourn*, *Yourn is nice*) but not when modifying a following noun phrase (i.e. it is not found in constructions such as **It's yourn house* or **Yourn house is nice*). Although we do find occasional instances of *-n* possessive formation in AE (*It's yourn after you done checked it in* 22:22), it appears to be dying out fairly rapidly, being replaced by the more current possessive formation with *-s*.

As a part of the trend toward acquiring the more current *-s* possessive formation with pronouns is absolute position, we find instances in which the *-s* possessive is extended to *mine* resulting in a sentence like *Most of mines are carnation baby* (34:(233)). This formation is created by the analogy of *mines* with possessives such as *yours*, *his*, *hers*, *its*, *ours* and *theirs*. Parenthetically we should note that AE does not appear to be among those varieties of English that has possessive *-s* absence in items such as *the boy hat* for *the boy's hat* or *John car* for *John's car*. Possessive *-s* is present in such an overwhelming number of instances where we would expect it to be present in standard English, that no case can be made for possessive *-s* absence from the rare examples in which it is not found.

4.4.3.4 Plural y'all

Like most English varieties of southern origin, the plural form of you may be y'all in AE. This is, of course, different from many northern varieties where you is used for both single and plural second person pronouns.

(106) a. One of y'all has to go in. 49:(3)
b. Y'all eat before you go -- eat you something. 84:(115)
c. Fonda wants to know if y'all want to help y'all. 87:(255)

Although earlier records of dialect geographers (Kurath 1949:Figure 114) indicate that you'ns may be used as an alternate form for y'all in this general area of Appalachia, we do not have any attestations for this form in our sample. If you'ns was used as an alternate form during earlier periods, it has apparently been replaced by y'all.

4.4.3.5 Relative Pronouns

There are several aspects of relative pronoun usage in AE which distinguish it from the use of relative pronouns in most varieties of standard English. One aspect of this difference concerns the contexts in which relative pronouns can be deleted. In standard English, the relative pronoun such as who, which, that, etc., may be absent if the noun phrase it replaces is the object of the subordinate clause. According to this rule, a sentence such as That's the boat that/which I built may also be realized without the presence of the pronoun, giving us That's the boat I built. In a sentence such as this, the noun phrase the boat is the object of the subordinate or embedded clause (i.e. I built the boat). If, however, the relative pronoun represents the subject of the subordinate clause, the pronoun is usually present in standard English, as in a sentence like That's the snake that/which bit me. In this sentence, the noun phrase which the pronoun replaces (viz. the snake) is the subject of the subordinate clause (i.e. The snake bit me).

AE is among those non-mainstream varieties of English (usually those of southern origin) where relative pronoun deletion is permissible whether it functions as a subject or object of the subordinate clause. We thus find many examples such as the following:

(107) a. I got some kin people ____ lived up there. 2:(998)
b. He's the funny lookin' character ____ plays baseball. 114:(199)

c. 'Cause they was this vampire that killed people ____ come in it. 14:(190)

d. My grandma's got this thing ____ tells me about when to plant. 16:(191)

As we have seen with many other aspects of AE, we find the regularization of a pattern which is observed to some extent in standard varieties of English.

Hackenberg (1972:114) has noted that the deletion of the relative pronouns is considerably more frequent when the main clause of the sentence is introduced by the expletive there (or its AE alternates it and they). That is, deletion would be more frequent in a sentence like There was a snake come down the road than in a sentence like I ran over the snake come down the road. In fact, the deletion of relative pronouns in sentences introduced by expletive there appears to be coming into some varieties of spoken standard English and is apparently becoming less socially stigmatized.

Another usage of relative pronouns which is becoming more characteristic of standard varieties of English involves the "associative" or "conjunctive" use of which. The traditional standard usage of which allows it to replace inanimate noun phrases or whole sentences or phrases. Thus, in a sentence like He goes to the school which is only two blocks from here, which is fine with me, the first which replaces the noun phrase the school while the second one replaces the entire sentence up to the comma. There is, however, another use of which which does not fit this general analysis. In sentences such as I went to Cleveland which my cousin lives there 66:(78) or I remember the doctor comin' and deliverin' the baby which we were in the other room 163:(247), it does not appear that there is an identifiable referent in the preceding clause. Instead, which seems to function more as a general conjunction such as and. The conjunctive use of which is characteristic of a number of varieties of standard English, often found in more careful styles as well as the more informal styles of spoken standard English.

Finally, we should mention the use of what as a relative pronoun. In sentences such as It was these two what lives back in the country 132:(70) or Anybody what didn't want butter 85:(90) what functions as a relative pronoun corresponding to standard English who (or that in informal speech styles). While the use of what as a relative pronoun is a stereotypic characteristic of a number of non-mainstream varieties, we have actually found very few instances of it in AE, and these occasional instances are limited to older residents of the area.

4.4.4 Personal Datives

In English, when the same referent is mentioned twice within a clause, the second occurrence typically takes on a reflexive form, that is, a form with -self, as in myself, themselves. This happens not only when both references show up in the same clause in the utterance, but also when they both are part of the underlying structure, with one deleted at some prior point. Some examples are:

(107) a. Did you hurt yourself?
b. They fixed themselves some soup for lunch.
c. I went to New York to find myself a job.

In some varieties of English, including AE, it is possible to use a non-reflexive pronoun in certain cases for the second occurrence of a single referent within the same clause. This usage, illustrated in (109), appears to be fairly common and is often represented in stereotypical characterizations of the speech of these varieties.

(109) a. I'd go out and cut me a limb off of a tree, get me a good straight one. 7:(803)
b. It was about these people moved out on the prairie and they built 'em a house. 58:(42)
c. We had us a cabin, built us a log cabin back over there. 146:(333)
d. And then you'd get you a bowl of ice water. 160:(696)

There are certain general observations which can be made about this construction, which will be referred to here as the 'personal dative", although its exact distribution is somewhat difficult to pin down. It apparently always occurs as an indirect object where the direct object is also present. That is, there are no cases like *I hurt me or *We could see us in the mirror. Personal datives are restricted to animate referents. Although there were no instances observed of non-human animates being referred to in this type of construction, it seems unlikely that the distribution is limited to human subjects. Rather it would appear that as long as a pronoun other than it (generally used for non-human referents) is supplied, the usage is acceptable. For example, The dog dug him up a bone might be found, but not *The dog dug it up a bone (where the pronoun is co-referential with the subject). With the exception of it, however, the full range of pronouns was observed.

There is a fairly strong resemblance between this usage and the dative construction involving for in English (for those datives where the subject and indirect object are co-referential). The dative relationship is expressed by either to or for phrases as in (110a) and (110c), and many of these have counterparts which involve what may be called "internal" in direct objects, as in (110b, d):

(110) a. We gave the book to our teacher.
b. We gave our teacher the book.
c. They bought a new car for me.
d. They bought me a new car.
e. I knitted a sweater for myself.
f. I knitted myself a sweater.

The form of personal datives has been linked to sentences like (110f), with the suggestion that the non-reflexive constructions follow the same derivation as the internal for-dative, and simply lack the requirement that the pronoun be reflexivized. For example, Green gives a lengthy discussion of the verbs which take datives, and at one point notes that:

> All of the for-dative verbs, in contrast to the to-datives, may occur with non-reflexive co-referential indirect object pronouns, but only in certain colloquial, rural, or sub-standard types of speech, and for no apparent reason, only if the indirect object is internal.
>
> (Green 1974a:190)

This observation may be accurate to some extent, but the facts from AE indicate that a one-to-one correspondence between this non-reflexive pronoun usage and its proposed counterpart in SE does not exist.

The first problem arises from the fact that a number of verbs occur with personal datives in the sample which do not appear to be derivable from for-datives in this way. Many, but still not all, could be paired with a phrase of the form for + reflexive pronoun, but it is not clear whether these would all be considered datives. At any rate, if they could be, the reflexive pronoun could not be placed in the internal position to provide the proposed standard English counterpart for the AE utterance. This is illustrated by the sentences in (111):

(111) a. Well, I take me a pick and a shovel. 8:(261)
b. He done had him a way figured out to get out. 146:(303)
c. She wanted her some liver pudding. 152:(60)
d. ...just put you a little flour in it. 85:(70)

The context surrounding the above personal datives might allow the use of a for-phrase, for example, in (111c): She wanted some liver pudding for herself. The use of the internal indirect object counterpart, however, appears unacceptable: *She wanted herself some liver pudding. Thus, if the AE personal datives are to be related to the for-dative construction in standard English, some extension to include other verbs like those in (111) would need to be allowed.

Another problem with this proposal centers on the actual relationship between these personal datives and the other dative constructions. In other words, it is necessary to determine if the two types of structures are sufficiently similar to suggest that their derivations are alike. One aspect of this involves how close the meanings of the proposed counterparts are. For most of the examples found where a reflexive pronoun counterpart was acceptable, the two variants seem to be close paraphrases, as in (112):

(112) a. I finally did buy me a coffee pot. 31:32
b. I finally did buy myself a coffee pot.
c. He wanted some straw to build him a house out of. 14:(1382)
d. He wanted some straw to build himself a house out of.

There do appear to be at least some subtle differences in meaning, but these are somewhat difficult to pinpoint. They may be more evident in the example in (113):

(113) a. I shot me a pheasant. 2:(540)
b. I shot myself a pheasant.

The personal dative in (113a) seems to vary in meaning from the dative phrase for myself in that the me seems less the benefactor of the action than the for-phrase would indicate. It is possible, though, that this is a more widespread difference between the construction with the overt for-phrase and the one with the internal indirect object. Further investigation is needed to resolve this issue of meaning differences.

Certain structural differences show up when the two forms are compared as they combine with other dative phrases and these might have implications for the meaning relationships. For example, the personal dative can be found in some instances with a verb that takes to-datives, such as write:

(114) a. I'm gonna write me a letter to the President.
b. *I'm gonna write myself a letter to the President.

(This example was provided by Richard Smaby, personal communication.) The alternate form with a reflexive pronoun is strange and would not appear derivable from a for-dative, since, although I'm gonna write a letter to the President for Fred is acceptable, the only internal indirect object possible is the President, not Fred, as in (115):

(115) a. I'm gonna write the President a letter for Fred.
b. *I'm gonna write Fred a letter to the President.

Other to-dative verbs, such as read or sell, also seem potentially acceptable with personal datives, as in I only need to sell me a dozen more toothbrushes, although none were observed in this sample. There is, in addition, the possibility of a personal dative co-occurring with an overt for-dative phrase. In these cases, the for-phrase clearly specifies the benefactor of the action, and its inclusion serves to reduce, if not eliminate the benefactor aspect of the personal dative. For example:

(116) a. He went to the store to buy him a present for his friend.
b. I need to find me a place to live for my family.

Here, the presence of the personal dative blocks the possibility of the for-dative occurring as an internal indirect object, though it could otherwise, as in buy his friend a present. This fact makes it look like the personal dative fills the indirect object function although it doesn't seem comparable to the reflexive form.

From the observations that have been made, it seems that there is a degree of similarity but also some definite differences between the AE personal dative and the for-dative construction in English. These differences may make it inappropriate to argue for a common for-dative source for both the reflexive and non-reflexive indirect objects. They would at least make it necessary to qualify any correspondence proposed to account for them. It may be simply the case that the personal datives were derived from the for-datives originally and have had their usage generalized to a wider variety of contexts with a concurrent shift in meaning. Further investigation is needed to determine how substantial the differences are and how best to account for this usage.

4.4.5 Expletive *there*

There are several different functions for the item *there* as it is typically used in many varieties of English. One of the common uses in standard English is what has sometimes been referred to as "expletive" or "existential" *there*. In this function, *there* fills a slot in a sentence while it contributes little or nothing to the basic meaning of the sentence. The form *there* is simply used to anticipate the words or phrase that contribute the basic meaning to the sentence. Thus, a sentence like *There were four students who flunked English* is quite similar to a sentence like *Four students flunked English*. In the former sentence, however, *there* is used to anticipate the parts of the sentence that carry its central meaning. This function is quite different from the locational usage of *there*, where it functions adverbially, as in a sentence like *He found the books over there*.

In AE, as in some other southern varieties, the item *they* may correspond to the expletive *there*. We therefore observe the following types of sentences:

(117) a. They say if *they's* a lotta woolly worms, you know, dark woolly worms, it'll be a bad winter. 28:5

b. Now *they's* a difference in sayin' a fun ghost story and what they used to tell back years ago. 28:33

c. Are *they* stories about snakes? 131:(336)

d. *They's* copperheads around here. 28:26

e. *They's* nothin' to keep 'em from turnin'. 30:151

Given the contexts in which these sentences were uttered, it is apparent that *they* is being used in AE as a correspondence for the standard English expletive *there*.

As noted above, there are several different functions for items that are pronounced identical to *there*. In addition to the expletive and locative functions which we described above, it may also be used as a possessive. Although spelled differently, the possessive form *their* in sentences like *It's their house* and *Their clothes are nice* is pronounced the same as the form spelled there. And the contracted form of they are they're, in sentences like They're nice or They're home is also pronounced the same as there.

One of the questions that has arisen in the study of various non-mainstream varieties of English concerns the extent to which the form they may correspond to the various functions of the form there or its identically pronounced forms their or they're. In Table 32, we present a comparison of different non-mainstream varieties in their use of they for these forms, delimiting four different functions: (1) locational there, (2) possessive their, (3) contracted they're, and (4) expletive there. In the table, an X denotes that they can be used as a correspondence and 0 indicates that it cannot be used. Parentheses are used to indicate that the form they can be used but to a very limited extent.

	Locative there	Possessive their	Contracted they're	Existential there
White Northern Non-Mainstream Varieties	0	0	0	0
Appalachian English	0	0	(X)	X
White Southern Non-Mainstream Varieties	0	0	X	X
Vernacular Black English	0	X	X	0

Table 32. Non-Mainstream they Correspondence, by Grammatical Function

Table 32 indicates different ranges for the they correspondence in the various non-mainstream varieties. For most northern White non-mainstream varieties, the correspondence they cannot be used at all. AE is like most other southern White varieties in that they can be used for contracted forms they're (cf. Section 3.2.1) and existential there. The correspondence they, however, is not typically used for possessive their in these varieties. Studies of Vernacular Black English indicate the extensive use of they for contracted they're as a part of the general process of copula deletion and the correspondence of they for possessive their. Vernacular Black English is not, however, reported to use they for either locational or expletive there.

It has sometimes been suggested (Labov 1969:756) that the correspondence of *they* for the various standard English counterparts is due to a phonological process related ultimately to the general process of deletion found in these varieties (cf. Section 3.2.1). This process takes place in several steps, including the initial change of final *r* to a schwa (phonetically [ðæə]), a loss of the schwa (phonetically [ðæ]) and an eventual raising of the vowel to become like the form of the pronoun *they* (phonetically [ðe^{i}]). While this appears to be a reasonable explanation, we might expect a general phonological process to affect the various grammatical functions of this identically pronounced form, but we have observed that it does not. If this process was the historical reason that the *they* correspondence arose, it was clearly restricted in terms of the grammatical forms to which it applied.

In addition to the correspondence *they* for expletive *there*, there is another correspondence which is found to some extent in AE, namely *it*. We therefore observe the following types of sentences, where *it* is interpreted to correspond to its standard English counterpart, expletive *there*.

(118) a. King Cobra 'posed to be 'bout the deadliest snake *it* is. 17:(1070)

b. *It*'s too much murder. 11:(907)

c. *It*'s a lotta them does that. 10:(178)

d. *It*'s rapids down there. 5:(268)

e. *It* was a fly in it. 16:10

The use of *it* as a correspondence for expletive *there* is a pattern that appears to be fairly extensive in a number of non-mainstream varieties. In fact, it may be hypothesized that one of the reasons that expletive *they* does not occur in Vernacular Black English (cf. Table 32) is due to the fact that *it* is used so extensively. It is also found in White non-mainstream varieties spoken in the north and south. Wolfram and Fasold have noted the extent to which the choice of this one word potentially affects the interpretation of a sentence.

> ...This difference in the choice of one word in a single construction affects the understanding of a considerable number of sentences in normal conversation. For example, if a speaker of a dialect with expletive *it* were waiting for water in ice cube trays to freeze, he could ask *Is it ice yet*? To him, this would mean "*Is there (any) ice yet*?" To speakers of most standard dialects, it means "*Has it become ice yet*?"
>
> (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:171)

Both expletive it and they are used to a considerable extent in AE; however, most speakers show a clear preference for one or the other as the correspondence for expletive there in standard English. Younger speakers tend to prefer the it correspondence while older speakers show a preference for they.

4.5 Prepositions

Although there are a number of differences in the uses of prepositions in AE as compared with other varieties of English, the majority of these concern limited subsets of items or even individual lexical items. There are, however, several general differences which might be cited.

One of the common patterns of prepositional usage in AE which differs from most mainstream varieties of English concerns the use of the preposition of with times of the day or seasons of the year. We thus find many examples of the following type, where of typically corresponds to in in other varieties of English.

(119) a. ...get up of the morning. 6:(64)

b. If you plant of the winter, frost'll get it. 56:(94)

c. We play rummy of the nights. 83:(532)

d. .. favorite places to go fish -- of the morning or late of the evening. 21:(448)

This particular pattern for forming prepositional phrases with of is quite pervasive among AE speakers of different age levels and different social classes as well.

A number of the differences in the use of prepositions are actually related to particles which occur as an integral part of verb plus particle combination rather than the prepositional phrase as such. For example, the use of out of with leave as in She finally left out of there (36:(188)) or We leave out of there (149:(150)) is actually part of the verb plus particle sequence instead of a difference in the use of a preposition in a prepositional phrase. Likewise, a phrase such as met up on as in We met up on a snake (4:(469)) consists of a sequence of a verb and its particles rather than a prepositional phrase difference. Similar situations may involve the types of particles occurring with certain nouns as in I don't know what's the matter of him (83:(690)) where matter co-occurs with of rather than with or even adjectives as with enough of in a sentence such as I ain't got enough of breath (31:(507)).

Since most prepositional differences consist of particular lexical items rather than patterns involving more general syntactic rules, we shall not detail the lexical differences here. It is sufficient to give an illustrative list of some of the types of prepositional differences found between AE and other English varieties.

AE Preposition	SE Correspondence	Illustrative Sentence
agin	against	I got up agin it. 47:(90) ...clear over agin the garden fence. 85:(848)
beside of	beside	The river was right beside of the railroad. 157:(400) ...a real old guy that lived beside of us. 21:(187)
at (with times of the day or seasons of the year	in	...at the wintertime. 30:(74) ...go to church at the night. 28:(10)
at (with movement verbs)	to	I just go at my uncles and fool around.
by	with	She's like that by all the guys that come in here. 149:(1514)
off'n	off of, off	They give us apple off'n their apple tree. 73:(494) Take the rim off'n of the barrel. 162:36)
upside	on the side of, on, in	...hit him upside the head. 44:(325) ...upside the jaw or something. 2:(513)
on account of	because, because of	You should wear bright clothes on account of they could be another hunter. I'd say it wouldn't be as safe as it used to be on account of so much poison in the air. 163:(159)

Table 33. Illustrative List of Prepositional Differences in AE

Some of the items in the above list, such as agin and off'n, are characteristic of older speakers only; others such as upside or at for to are characteristic of the more general population. Many of these differences simply seem to be regional characteristics which carry little social diagnosticicity among the various classes of speakers living within the Appalachian region. An illustrative list such as Table 33 may, of course, be extended considerably by adding more of the individual lexical differences found in prepositional usage.

There are also other cases where the correspondence between AE and standard English does not involve different prepositions as such, but relates to a preposition in some contexts which may be absent in AE. Thus, an example such as I lived Coal City (85:248), which occurs with a verb like live and a following place of location, may be equivalent to I lived at/in Coal City in other varieties of English.

While many of the differences between AE and other English varieties concern individual prepositions, there also may be differences in the formation of phrases rather than in the prepositions as such. One such difference concerns the type of fixed phrase typically used with reference to year dates. In many varieties of English, the alternate phrases for a century date such as 1925 would be nineteen hundred twenty-five or simply nineteen twenty-five. In AE, however, such phrases may be realized as nineteen and twenty-five. This pattern is indicated in the following types of examples.

(120) a. ...from nineteen and twenty-five till about thirty-one. 11:(91)
b. I believe it was nineteen and fifty-six. 31:(84)
c. ...somewhere along eighteen and seventy-one. 11:(10)

In this case, we simply have the conjunction and as a part of the phrase for specifying century dates.

4.6 Indirect Questions

The typical pattern for forming direct questions in standard English involves the movement of the auxiliary to the front of the sentence. Given a declarative sentence such as He was going home, the direct question counterpart would be Was he going home?, in which the auxiliary was is moved to the beginning of the sentence. If there is also a question word involved (i.e.

one of the so-called *wh* words such as *who*, *where*, *when*, *how*, etc.), it is also moved to the front of the sentence, thus resulting in a sentence such as *Where was he going*? as a direct question counterpart of a declarative sentence such as *He was going home*.

In indirect questions, the movement of the auxiliary and question word does not take place; instead, the conjunction *if* or *whether* is used while the declarative word order is retained. We thus get the indirect question form *He asked if (whether) he was going home* or *He wondered if (whether) he was going home* where the auxiliary *was* retains its original position in the verb phrase.

In AE, as in many non-mainstream varieties of English, the rule for forming indirect questions may follow the direct question rule. This means that the auxiliary and question word is moved to the front of the clause and the conjunction *if* and *whether* is not used. We thus observe the following types of indirect question sentences in AE:

(121) a. Momma asked me *where have I been*. 1:(379)
b. I asked him *could I come downstairs*. 9:(473)
c. We stopped down at my aunts to ask her *did she want some cucumbers*. 80:(478)
d. I asked her the first year *was I gonna pass*. 1:(871)
e. We asked him *would he make us big*. 19:(197

The formation of indirect questions in this manner involves a regularization of the rules for forming questions, so that the same rules apply whether it is direct or indirect question. This regularization in question formation actually seems to be coming into standard varieties of English. It can be observed in the casual speech of some standard English speakers, although not to the extent that it is found in AE or other non-mainstream varieties.

It has been suggested (Gordon and Lakoff 1971:76) that there are some non-mainstream varieties of English in which the difference between the inverted order of the indirect question may differ in meaning from that of the uninverted order. Wolfram and Fasold have summarized the possible meaning difference.

> ...there is a distinction between *I wonder how did he finish the job* and *I wonder how he finished the job*. The first question counts as a request for information and requires an answer such as *I don't know* or *He did it*

> by convincing his friends that whitewashing a fence was a privilege. To answer I wonder how did he finish the job from a speaker of such a dialect by saying Yeah or It would be nice to know would be rude. But because I wonder how he finished the job can count as a statement about something the speaker is curious about and need not be interpreted as a request for information, these latter two answers would not be out of place. In this dialect, it would not be possible to say I wondered how did he finish the job but I found out later because one would not request information he already has.
>
> (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:170)

At this point, it is not known if such a meaning difference is operative in AE.

4.7 Conclusion

On the basis of our discussion of various phonological and grammatical features of AE, several observations can be made. We have seen that some of the features described in the preceding sections are governed by rather detailed linguistic rules. Although an individual speaker may not reveal all the characteristics we have discussed, the range of features appears to be fairly general within the region. Some of the differences found among speakers may be attributable to social variables such as status and age differences, whereas others may simply relate to slightly differing sub-systems within the area. A number of the features described here are shared by other varieties of English, particularly by those spoken in different regions of the south, but the particular combination of features appears to set AE apart from other varieties of American English.

The vast majority of the socially stigmatized features discussed here fluctuate with what might be considered to be standard English variants. This pattern follows the general patterning found in other studies of non-mainstream varieties of English. As noted previously, the extent of fluctuation is sensitive to both social constraints such as age and status as well as linguistic constraints such as linguistic environment.

CHAPTER FOUR

FOOTNOTES

1. Due to the regular realization of -ing participial forms as [In] rather than [Iŋ] (see 3.7.3), we have adopted the popular convention in which these forms are indicated as in' orthographically.

2. It is interesting to note that there are some speakers of AE who still use the prepositions on and at in a broader range of contexts than is found in other varieties of English. We therefore have the following sorts of examples from our AE speakers:

(i) a. How do you avoid drugs if you were at parent at rearing a child in an environment that had a lot of that sort of thing? (Fieldworker 61:20)

b. I'm trying to get him back on huntin' again. 159:22

c. ...cause there's some things that just really no use on fussin' about. 148:7

The syntactic range for the prepositions on and at apparently was much broader at one point in the development of the history of the English language than it is currently.

3. Morgan (1972) points out that it is possible for certain conjoined subjects to act as singular subjects when interpreted as a combination, as in Cookies and milk is Sam's favorite snack.

4. By "productive", we mean that this is the suffix that would be used if a new verb (new as a lexical item) came into the language. This can be demonstrated by giving a word that is made up like "crub" to speakers of English and asking for the past tense. Typically, they will supply the form "crubbed".

5. In most cases, the distinction between a standard and a nonstandard form is fairly clearcut, as in blowed vs. blew/blown. There are, however, instances where alternation between regularized and non-regularized forms exist with no obvious difference in acceptability. In such cases, the verbs were excluded from consideration here. These include dived vs. dove, shined vs. shone and sneaked vs. snuck.

6. It should be noted that forms like these, where the subject of the complement sentence is the object of the matrix sentence, function differently from those where the subject is the same in both sentences, such as *I have to go* (typically *hafta*). The meaning of *hafta* with reference to obligation is also somewhat different from the *have* + Noun Phrase + *to* + Verb construction.

7. Both Labov, et al (1968:278) and Wolfram (1974a:168) note that the extent of multiple negation must be based on only those items which are part of a distinction between post-verbal indefinites within and outside the main clause. It is observed that indefinites used appositionally outside the main clause (as in sentences such as *He ain't good looking either* and *He don't get a second try or anything*) do not appear subject to the categorical application of multiple negation even when it applies to indefinites within the main clause. Figures on the categoricality of multiple negation therefore do not include such items that are outside the same main clause.

8. Depending on the placement of stress, it is possible to emphasize the predicate (e.g. *Dón't nobody like him*) or the indefinite element (e.g. *Don't nobódy like him*) in constructions of this type.

9. The contracted negative forms such as *isn't* or *aren't* are not the only alternative forms for speakers. It is also possible to use a non-contracted negative, as in *He's not* or *They're not*. Instances of this type are not tabulated here, since it is apparent that this variation exists for all speakers. It is not as certain, however, if forms such as *isn't* or *aren't* are used to any extent within some non-mainstream varieties (cf. Wolfram 1974a:152-155).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF DIALECT DIVERSITY

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapters, we have presented a sociolinguistic framework for the discussion of language diversity and a descriptive account of the linguistic features of AE. With this perspective in mind, we may now turn to some of the educational implications of the language situation found in Appalachia. A number of the educational implications discussed here relate to the general nature of dialect diversity rather than to AE as such, but the specific application to AE should be apparent throughout our discussion.

5.1 Language Attitudes

It seems appropriate that any discussion of the educational implications of dialect diversity begin with a consideration of language attitudes. Subjective reactions to language differences appear to be inevitable. It is a well-attested fact that individuals do not respond to language patterns unlike their own with objective detachment; rather they respond evaluatively based on their reactions to social characteristics that various language forms may imply for them. When individuals react subjectively to the speech of a particular group, they are expressing their attitudinal reactions toward the behavioral patterns of that group on the basis of the manifestations of language. It is not simply coincidence that the language of socially stigmatized groups is typically stigmatized and that of socially prestigous groups has a prestige value.

The fact that individuals tend to correlate linguistic differences with social and/or regional differences is well attested and, in itself, is not a problem. The problem, instead, arises because the stereotype interpretations of such differences often have no basis in reality. The following sorts of characterizations of non-mainstream varieties and their speakers are commonly found:

> Non-mainstream varieties are simply incomplete attempts to master the standard variety.

Speakers of non-mainstream varieties use their language in an unpatterned, unsystematic way.

Speakers of non-mainstream varieties learn their language at a slower rate than children who speak standard dialects.

Speakers of non-mainstream varieties are handicapped cognitively by their language system.

Each of these interpretations of language differences can, of course, be thoroughly refuted. If nothing else, the account of the linguistic features given in Chapters Three and Four should demonstrate the systematic nature of AE. There are often intricate and detailed rules which account for the forms of AE, just as there are for any dialect or language. While there exist systematic relations between standard English and AE, the AE system can in no way be viewed as an incomplete mastery of the rules of standard English. At various points we have shown the historical relation of the forms of AE and other varieties of English and how the language forms have systematically developed. In some cases, AE may have retained forms which have changed in more standard varieties of English, but in other cases, changes in AE may have progressed beyond those found in standard varieties of English. In neither case, however, is the development related to mastery of learning the language system or any linguistic superiority of one form over another.

The claim that the language acquisition of speakers of non-mainstream varieties progresses at a slower rate than that of their mainstream counterparts is an illusion which, in many cases, is created by the norms set up for language acquisition. All cross-cultural studies of language acquisition point to the fact that the rate of language development is roughly parallel for children of different social groups. The difference is simply that non-mainstream speakers learn the language of their community which is different from that of the mainstream dialect. In many cases, this difference is interpreted as a deficit. This is true not only on the level of informal observation, but also in terms of many of the standardized instruments utilized for assessing language development (cf. Section 5.2). All evidence points to the fact that AE speakers acquire the AE system at approximately the same rate as standard English speakers acquire their system.

Sometimes cited in conjunction with language acquisition is the notion that nonstandard English imposes certain cognitive handicaps on a speaker. There is, however, nothing inherent in any given language variety that will interfere with the development of the ability to reason. All languages adequately provide for the conceptualization and expression of logical propositions, but the particular grammar for encoding conceptualization may differ among language systems. This does not necessarily exclude the possibility that particular language categories may predispose particular conceptions of the external world, or that a particular cultural conceptualization may influence language categories, but there is no evidence that different language categories will impede the fundamental processes that are the basis of human thought.

Our insistence upon the linguistic integrity of non-mainstream dialects should not be taken to mean that we deny the reality of social class distinctions found in language. It is obvious that there is a correlation between social class and language differences and non-mainstream varieties will be socially stigmatized. This social fact, however, exists independent of the inherent linguistic structure. The important aspect of social class distinctions in language is related to who uses certain forms, not the particular linguistic organization of the forms. Thus, for example, if the use of multiple negation were predominant among the middle classes and the singly negated equivalent were predominant among the working classes, then single negation, not multiple negation, would be socially stigmatized. In fact, we noted in our description of multiple negation in Section 4.3.1 that multiple negation was the standard formation of negation with indefinites at one point in the history of the English language. Similar cases could be cited for a number of the features we have described in Chapters Three and Four, demonstrating the arbitrariness of the features which become socially diagnostic in language. It is the social class structure, not the linguistic structure, which determines which forms will be socially stigmatized and which ones are socially prestigious.

The basis for attitudinal changes concerning non-mainstream varieties of English lies in developing an authentic respect for the linguistic integrity of these systems. We are not calling for a paternalistic tolerance of such a language variety because its speakers are "incapable of doing better", but a consideration of the systematic nature of the detailed rules governing the system and the historical development of the English language which has led to such diversity.

Our experience has indicated that the most crucial contribution that the study of social dialects can make to education is in the area of attitudes. An educator who considers non-mainstream varieties to be legitimate linguistic systems rather than simply distorted English will be a more effective teacher even without new materials and techniques specifically designed to deal with language variation. Such a person will be slower to make judgments of intelligence based on the usage of nonstandard English, and will be skeptical of the results of standardized tests which contain aspects presuming the mastery of a mainstream variety of English. This educator will further refrain from concluding that a child has a language disorder simply because his language is not standard. Finally, such an educator will be prone to spend more time on essential educational skills themselves as opposed to expending a great deal of effort on correcting phonological and grammatical manifestations that differ from standard varieties.

Given the effect that teacher attitudes can have on student performance, the role of teacher attitudes toward non-mainstream varieties can hardly be underestimated. Unfortunately, it is an arduous task to realistically bring about such attitudinal changes, given the popular misconceptions of dialect diversity which have become so widespread. Ultimately, attitudinal change must rest in an understanding that intricate and detailed linguistic rules govern language regardless of social connotations.[1]

5.2 Dialect Diversity and Testing

The importance that mainstream society places on standardized tests is fairly obvious to most educators. Crucial decisions in the diagnosis of educational abilities are often based on standardized test scores of one type or another -- decisions that affect children's current and future lives in our society. Admittedly, test scores are difficult to resist, given their widespread use by all types of agencies. Standardized tests are used as instruments that produce objectified, quantitative information of one type or another. Quantifiable scores do show significant distinctions between various groups of individuals, so that their use as an objectifiable parameter of measurement can become a highly valued basis for evaluating a group or an individual's performance. Obviously, when a test reveals significant differences between various groups in the population, we have demonstrated something. But the uneasy question which arises is whether the instrument actually measures what it is designed to measure; that is, do the scores faithfully represent the domain set forth by the tests. And, we may take this one step further and ask what can be inferred about other behavior on the basis of a test. This would involve assessing the usefulness of the measurement as an indicator of some other variable or as a predictor of behavior. These questions deal with the test validity (the former case being a matter of content validity and the latter criterion-related validity).

Although there are various aspects of validity that have at times become controversial issues with respect to standardized testing, one of the recurrent themes relates to the appropriateness of such measurements for different cultural groups. Included in the concern for cross-cultural applicability is consideration for some of the rural, relatively isolated groups found in regions of Appalachia. In many instances, we find that the distribution of scores among these groups is disproportionate when compared with mainstream populations. These findings have raised several different questions concerning the tests. One of the questions posed has been whether higher test scores from high socio-economic groups reflect genuine superiority of one type or another. Or, do high scores result from an environmental setting which provides certain advantages? Or, do the differential scores reflect a bias in the test materials and not important differences in capabilities at all? Recent research in testing (e.g. Roberts 1970, Meier 1973, Cicourel et al 1974) indicates the last question is becoming increasingly important in the consideration of test application across different social and cultural groups in American society. It is also the area in which linguistics can play a significant role in suggesting ways of examining specific tests and the testing process in general.

Although we might look at the general question of test bias from several different approaches, our central concern here is that of a sociolinguistic perspective. From this perspective, we are interested in how language diversity in the context of society may be used to the advantage of certain groups as opposed to others. Our research into language diversity in American English has shown that there are considerable differences in language systems, such as those which we demonstrated for AE in the preceding chapters. Our knowledge of those differences may serve as a basis for understanding certain types of potential sociolinguistic interference in testing. Although we shall examine in some detail the effects of these types of dialect differences on testing language skills, the crucial nature of the testing question shall carry us somewhat further than the differences in linguistic form which we have discussed there.[2]

5.2.1 Differences in Linguistic Form

One aspect of test interference involves the differences in linguistic items which speakers may have as a part of their linguistic system. The background of this sort of investigation is found in the descriptive accounts of various linguistic systems as they contrast with responses to linguistic items considered correct by tests. In a sense, this is what is done in contrastive linguistics where the descriptive accounts of linguistic systems are placed side by side in order to observe where the patterns of language are similar and where they are different. In contrastive studies as they are applied to different language or dialects, these comparisons often serve as a basis for predicting where a speaker of Language Variety A will encounter difficulty when confronted with Language Variety B. Although all predicted interference will not, of course, be realized for one reason or another, the comparison can anticipate many of the patterns or items which will, in fact, interfere. On the basis of a contrastive analysis of standard English and a non-mainstream variety such as AE, we may therefore predict what types of interference we would expect a test to potentially hold for the speaker of AE.[3]

Language tests may be used for a wide range of purposes, including the assessment of language development, auditory discrimination, the diagnosis of learning disabilities, reading assessment, and achievement in language arts. In all these cases, the norms called for in the test may systematically conflict with the language system of a non-mainstream speaker. Although each of these language tests might be dealt with in detail, we may most efficiently discuss our perspective by illustration.

For this purpose, we shall focus on the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (henceforth ITPA), a widely used test in several different disciplines, particularly in speech pathology and learning disabilities assessment.

The ITPA consists of a battery of tests to measure various facets of cognitive abilities. It is essentially a diagnostic tool in which specific abilities and disabilities in children may be delineated in order for remediation to be undertaken when needed (Examiner's Manual 1968:5). Among the various subtests is one entitled "grammatical closure", which was designed to "assess the child's ability to make use of the redundancies of oral language in acquiring automatic habits for handling syntax and grammatic inflections" (Examiner's Manual 1968:11). While the manual mentions that the test elicits the ability to respond in terms of standard American English, no warning is given about the use of this test with children who may speak non-mainstream varieties of English. The test is, in fact, routinely administered to quite different dialect and social groups. In the grammatic closure subtest, the child is asked to produce a missing word as the tester points to a picture. For example, the examiner shows a plate with two pictures on it, one with one bed and the other with two beds. The examiner points to the first picture as he says, "Here is a bed."; he then points to the second picture and says "Here are two ____.", with the child supplying the missing word. The focus is on a particular grammatical form, such as the plural -s in this case. All of the responses must be in standard English in order to be considered correct.

With this background information in mind, let us consider the specific items of the grammatic closure test in terms of the grammatical description of AE presented in Chapter Four. Based on our contrastive analysis of the items considered to be correct responses according to the test manual and the different grammatical rules of AE, we may predict those cases of possible divergence accounted for by the grammatical rules of AE. According to the manual for scoring, all these items would have to be considered "incorrect", even though they are governed by legitimate linguistic rules which simply differ from dialect to dialect. In the table presented below, we have given each of the stimulus items in the test, the responses considered to be "correct" according to the test manual and, where applicable, the corresponding dialect form which would be an appropriate response for AE speakers. In all the cases cited in Table 34, the legitimate AE form would have to be considered incorrect according to the scoring procedures in test manuals. In each case where the dialect form of AE would be different from the expected correct response, we have cited the section in Chapter Four where this form has been discussed.

We see, in Table , that 25 of the 33 items in the test have alternate forms in AE, following the grammatical rules we described in Chapter Four. These are forms which are a legitimate part of the AE grammatical system, but, according to the instructions for scoring the test, they would have to be considered incorrect responses. To understand what the implication of such divergence may be for diagnosis of language abilities, consider the hypothetical case of a ten-year-old AE speaker. Suppose that such a speaker obtains correct responses for all of the other items in the test, but his appropriate AE responses are considered to be incorrect according to the guidelines given for scoring this section. When the raw score of eight correct responses is checked with the psycholinguistic age norms for this test, we find his abilities to be equivalent to those of a child of four years and five months. This, of course, may be somewhat exaggerated, given the fact that most of the features of AE are variable and a particular speaker may not use all of these features as a part of his system. Instead we may arbitrarily say that the AE speaker only realizes approximately half of the potential AE alternants in his actual performance on such a test. This would give him a raw score of 20 correct responses, and his psycholinguistic age level according to this measurement would be that of a child six years and eight months of age. This is still over three years below his actual age, and would, in many cases, be sufficient to recommend such a child for remedial language training. The implications for using such a test to assess the language capabilities of the AE speaking child appear quite obvious given the norms of the test and the legitimate differences found in the AE system. On the basis of a test such as this, it would be quite possible to misdiagnose a child's language abilities and penalize him for having learned the language of his community.

	Stimulus with "Correct" Item According to Test Manual	AE Alternant	Section in Chapter Four Where Discussed
1.	Here is a dog. Here are two dogs/doggies.		
2.	This cat is under the chair. Where is the cat? She is on/(any preposition--other than under--indicating location).		
3.	Each child has a ball. This is hers; and this is his.	his'n	4.4.3.3
4.	This dog likes to bark. Here he is barking.		
5.	Here is a dress. Here are two dresses.		
6.	The boy is opening the gate. Here the gate has been opened.		
7.	There is milk in this glass. It is a glass of/with/for/o'/lots of milk.	No preposition	4.5
8.	This bicycle belongs to John. Whose bicycle is it? It is John's.		
9.	This boy is writing something. This is what he wrote/has written/did write.	writed/writ, has wrote	4.1.3
10.	This is the man's home, and this is where he works. Here he is going to work, and here he is going home/back home/to his home.	at home	4.5
11.	Here it is night, and here it is morning. He goes to work first thing in the morning, and he goes home first thing at night.	of the night	4.5
12.	This man is painting. He is a painter/fence painter.	a-paintin'	4.1.1
13.	The boy is going to eat all the cookies. Now all the cookies have been eaten.	eat, ate, eated, eat	4.1.3
14.	He wanted another cookie; but there weren't any/any more.	none/no more	4.3
15.	This horse is not big. This horse is big. This horse is even bigger.	more bigger	4.2.2
16.	And this horse is the very biggest.	most biggest	4.2.2
17.	Here is a man. Here are two men/gentlemen.	mans/mens	4.4.1
18.	This man is planting a tree. Here the tree has been planted.		
19.	This is soap and these are soap/bars of soap/more soap.	soaps	4.4.1
20.	This child has lots of blocks. This child has even more.		

	Stimulus with "Correct" Item According to Test Manual	AE Alternant	Section in Chapter Four Where Discussed
21.	And this child has the most.	mostest	4.2.2
22.	Here is a foot. Here are two feet.	foots/feets	4.4.1
23.	Here is a sheep. Here are lots of sheep.	sheeps	4.4.1
24.	This cookie is not very good. This cookie is good. This cookie is even better.	gooder	4.2.2
25.	And this cookie is the very best.	bestest	4.2.2
26.	This man is hanging the picture. Here the picture has been hung.	hanged	4.1.3
27.	The thief is stealing the jewels. These are the jewels that he stole.	stoled/stealed	4.1.3
28.	Here is a woman. Here are two women.	womans/womens	4.4.1
29.	The boy had two bananas. He gave one away; and he kept one for himself.	hisself	4.4.3.1
30.	Here is a leaf. Here are two leaves.	leafs	4.4.1
31.	Here is a child. Here are three children.	childrens	4.4.1
32.	Here is a mouse. Here are two mice.	mouses	4.4.1
33.	These children all fell down. He hurt himself; and she hurt herself. They all hurt themselves.	theirselves/theirself	4.4.3.1

Table 34. ITPA Grammatical Closure Subtest with Comparison of "Correct" Responses and Appalachian English Alternate Forms

5.2.2 Testing as a Social Occasion

Although a primary focus in this study has been the linguistic forms of AE, the extent of sociolinguistic considerations in tests is not restricted to different linguistic items. There are other matters which take us beyond the limitations of systematic differences between linguistic items per se as discussed in 5.2.1. One of the important considerations in any test is the context of the testing situation. Testing, like other types of behavior, necessarily involves the existence of a social occasion. The testing process is not devoid of cultural context regardless of how standardized the testing procedure may actually be. Testing is "social" in several ways. First of all, it is social in the sense that it involves interaction between the test administrator and the test taker. Second, it involves a particular division of labor that distinguishes the testing situation from other aspects of behavior. And finally, it is social in the sense that it operates on the output of socialization that has taken place prior to the actual situation.

Test construction involves elaborate plans for the manipulation of the subject's behavior. These plans are first based on the assumption that the test designer has a viable (though perhaps implicit) model which can serve as a guide for his own actions in constructing the test. It is further assumed that the researcher knows the ways in which the properties of situations might influence the behavior of the subjects, and how to place these properties under control in the standardization of procedures.

In order to promote the orderly interpretation of data that are derived from the test situation, the researcher has no other alternative but to presume that the subject can enter and remain in the experimental frame constructed for the test. In other words, he must assume that the subject can play the researcher's game. And, if he cannot bring the subject into the experimental frame, then there is no objectifiable way in which the abilities of the subject which the tester wants to measure can be tapped.

The basic issue here, then, concerns the assumption of the "sameness" of the environment and the irrelevance of potentially different socialization processes which may lead to this test situation. From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, the question at this point is determining the extent to which potentially different historical backgrounds may be individualistic or cultural. We cannot completely dismiss the individual aspects which may result in different perceptions of the social occasion since there seems to be some evidence that certain individuals from all socio-economic groups may be adversely affected by the judgmental and competitive conditions that characterize the testing situation. But we must go one step further and look at the systematic cross-cultural aspects of the testing situation. For a number of reasons, we are led to believe that the testing situation is culturally biased in favor of particular classes. The regulation of the testing situation, the social style of the test administration, the expectations of the experimental frame, and the expected behavior of the test takers while engaged in the testing activity all point to a particular class orientation. Those individuals who are not members of this class, then, are likely to be at some disadvantage when in this situation.

The importance of the social occasion in testing can be illustrated best by citing the instructions from a fairly typical test guide. The "hints" for successful test taking given below happen to come from a brochure on taking aptitude tests, published by the U. S. Department of Labor, but they could have come from any number of test instructions.

> (1) Get ready for the test by taking other tests on your own.
> (2) Don't let the thought of taking a test throw you, but being a little nervous won't hurt you.
> (3) Arrive early, rested, and prepared to take the test.
> (4) Ask questions until you understand what you are supposed to do.
> (5) Some parts of the test may be easier than others. Don't let the hard parts keep you from doing well on the easier parts.
> (6) Keep time limits in mind when you take a test.
> (7) Don't be afraid to answer when you aren't sure you are right, but don't guess wildly.
> (8) Work as fast as you can but try not to make mistakes. Some tests have short time limits.
>
> (U. S. Department of Labor, 1968)

All of the above "hints" are really concerned with the socialization process involved in test taking. For example, hint (1) deals with the development of test-taking as a type of social activity into which one should become enculturated by exposure to the process of test-taking itself. Our chances of success on any given test are enhanced by having been exposed to previous test-type activities, whether they be other tests, preparatory test activities, or other socialization processes that simulate the types of activities called for in tests. Or, for example, hints (5), (7) and (8) deal with particular types of orientation procedures which tell how we are to assess different variables in the test. Hint (5) deals with a "coping" task in which the test-taker should know he can compensate for the difficult parts by concentrating one the easier sections. Hint (7) deals with an assessment of the role of guessing as opposed to only answering questions of which the test-taker is certain. And hint (8) deals with an understanding of how the relation of time should be dealt with in respect to accuracy. Now the interesting paradox found in the hints for test taking is that a number of them are theoretically part of the assumptions about the neutrality of the testing situation at the same time that they are admitted as contributing factors to success or failure in a test. If it is admitted that these hints may change how a person scores in a test, then the assumption about neutrality or control of the social occasion cannot be entirely valid.

The importance that the social occasion may have in testing has, in fact, led some educators to endorse the teaching of test-taking as a distinct, important and learnable skill in itself. While this may not be a completely satisfactory answer to the problem for other reasons, efforts to equalize the orientation to the testing occasion do deserve consideration.

5.2.3 Task Bias

In addition to the aspects of the social occasion discussed above, testing makes certain types of assumptions concerning the specific tasks involved in test-taking. The standardization process of testing requires not only that the test be uniformly administered, but that the test materials be understood and interpreted uniformly by the subjects taking the test. The assumption that there is one correct answer is based on the constructor's faith that he and the test taker share a common symbolic background in which objects have only one meaning which is apparent to all. From this perspective, meaning is not negotiated and built up over the course of the interaction, but it is assumed to share a commonness by the way in which the task is arranged.

All tests, no matter what the focus of the particular subject matter, must start with the assumption that the test taker comprehends the instructions (whether written or oral). These instructions are dependent upon linguistic comprehension of some type, so that even tests which do not seek to measure language skills at all still involve language and certain assumptions about it. From a linguistic standpoint, this involves the comprehension of sentence meanings, including the presuppositions and implications of questioning.

The obviousness of the instructions and questions becomes a point at which we must investigate the possible discrepancy between the interpretations of the test designer and testee. The first observation is that not all presumed obvious information is in fact necessarily obvious. In some cases, the appeal to obviousness comes from an inability to design the task clearly enough so that only the intended interpretation is possible. However straightforward the task may appear to the test designer, we can never exclude the possibility of ambiguity in the task. Although psychometric means of "validating" procedures may exist there is no assurance that this is sufficient. We know, of course, that there are a number of reasons why an individual may not obtain the "correct" response. From our vantage point, it becomes crucial to know exactly why a subject or group of subjects did not come up with the correct response. A subject may give an incorrect response because he is unfamiliar with the vocabulary; or he may obtain the incorrect answer because he interpreted the question in terms of his own common sense; or because his presuppositions did not match those of the test designer. In terms of potential task interference, it becomes important to identify exactly why the answer is considered inappropriate by the test designer but not by certain test-takers. One type of investigation of this is an analysis of errors using patterns that correlate with membership in socially and linguistically-defined groups. However, another investigative approach is available that makes use of the test material itself as data (see Cicourel et al 1974 for important studies of test material as data). From a sociolinguistic perspective, it becomes essential to identify some of the potential ways in which the task as presented may interfere with the identification of correct responses. We are here concerned not so much with the stated protocol in test administration, but with the subtleties of task which may interfere with the assumption of "obviousness".

Different groups may share a desire to succeed in their performance on a test, but simply interpret the protocol of "obvious" instructions differently. Take, for example, the simple instruction to repeat something. The first problem we must recognize is that the instructions to repeat allow for more than one interpretation. One interpretation calls for verbatim repetition, whereas another allows for similarity in communicative content through paraphrase. The second problem lies in the assumption that the test-taker can extract from his real life uses of repetition (which are drastically different) and remain in the experimental frame where repetition is an end in itself. Interestingly enough, an informal survey of lower class children's performance on a sentence repetition task showed two types of departures in the performance of the task (King 1972). One was a tendency to respond in terms of language use outside the context of the specified experimental frame which called for verbatim repetition. Thus, asked to repeat a sentence like "Is the car in the garage?" while being shown a picture of a car in the garage, many children choose to answer by giving the information relevant to the question rather than simply repeating the question. This, of course, is a reasonable way to respond to a question -- outside the specialized testing situation. The other problem involved a tendency to give more detail than the verbatim repetition called for in the response. In essence, many of the stimuli were paraphrased rather than repeated verbatim. From the children's perspective, the paraphrase had to be interpreted as an attempt to succeed at the task, but from the test designer's perspective, the task was not followed as prescribed. Strict verbatim was the avenue for success in this task, not detailed recapitulation. But suppose the child's experience suggests that positive value should be placed on those types of language use which might involve a paraphrase or caricature of what a first party has said rather than verbatim recall. One can see how interpretations of this sort would lead to serious misunderstandings of the "simple" instructions to repeat.

Quite obviously, task interference may be reflected in the choice of a general method for obtaining the desired information. The information which the test taker has to give back is relatively constant, but one method may tap this information to a much greater extent than another. Consider, for example, the notion of "word knowledge" as an illustration. Word knowledge may be obtained in a number of different ways, one of which is synonymy. The notion of synonymy as such involves a task which is fairly well restricted to the testing situation and fairly educated writing styles. This, however, is not to say that the notion of "word knowledge" is not found outside of these situations. There is ample evidence that all individuals can give approximate definitions or uses of words, but it does not necessarily involve the notions of "word replaceability" which is a part of synonymy. As Meier puts it:

> A synonym is only one approach to "word definition" and involves a quite abstract notion about the replaceability of one word for another. If pressed for a "meaning", children (and adults) generally give a story example that describes the word or context which which uses it appropriately.
>
> (1973:10)

Similarly, antonymy is another method commonly used to get at the notion of word meaning or relationship. However, the notion of opposition may in fact imply different relationships than those which the test designer intends when he illustrates the notion with an "obvious" example of antonymy. Meier points out that the notion of opposite may in fact quite legitimately be interpreted as something which is "very different". By this interpretation items like "tall" and "far" might be considered opposites, just as surely as "tall" and "short". Failure to obtain the "correct" notion of antonymy might then be interpreted not as a result of an inability to get the right answer, but as a result of focus on a different relationship. The assumed neutrality of tasks must indeed be questioned as it relates to different individuals and different social groups. Middle-class children, because of their familiarity with specific tasks as they are employed to get certain types of information, would appear to hold a serious advantage over their working-class counterparts in playing the test game. Given the fact that testing tasks involve a particular type of extraction from real life language tasks, the only way an equal chance for success can be assured for all social groups is to ensure similar familiarities with the tasks.

5.2.4 Principles to Guide the Test User

In the previous sections we have presented a sociolinguistic perspective on testing. We have also provided examples of the types of potential sociolinguistic interference that may be found in tests. At this point, we may summarize our discussion by setting forth some principles to guide the test user in the consideration of tests.[4] Although some of the principles relate specifically to a sociolinguistic perspective on testing, others are more general in nature. In terms of general standards and guidelines for tests, we would strongly recommend that all test users become familiar with the principles set forth in *Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests*, which gives a much more extended set of guidelines.

Principle 1: The test user must compare what the test claims to be testing with what it actually tests. It cannot always be assumed that a test actually assesses what it claims to. With respect to language, we must ask what aspects of a language are actually being tested as compared to what the test claims to tap. All tests which consistently differentiate groups of individuals measure something, but not necessarily what they set out to measure. For example, the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, which is widely used in a number of different disciplines, may be an effective measure of a person's receptive ability to recognize the pictorial referents of dialectally-specific lexical items. This, however, is quite different from the general claims about assessing vocabulary acquisition it makes, let alone any indications of intelligence which may be a derivative of the test. The initial question of content validity is the touchstone for evaluating any testing instrument.

Principle 2. The test user must consider the types of assumptions which underline the testing task. Tests which involve participation of some type involve certain assumptions about the nature of this participation. The range of assumed abilities may, of course, vary greatly from test to test. For example, one test of language may require only that a child show recognition of a pictorial reference through the activity of pointing. Others may involve the assumption of reading ability and an orientation of a particular multiple choice format. If the assumptions necessary for performance on the test cannot be met satisfactorily by all the test takers, then the task will prohibit the collection of adequate data on the actual test items.

Principle 3: The test user must ask what specific problems may be encountered by the speaker of a non-mainstream variety of English. Given the current faddishness of ridiculing tests, it is imperative for the test user to give an account of the specific ways in which a test may hold potential for bias. For example, in Section 5.2.1 we have given specific cases where the speaker of AE may be expected to give alternate forms according to the grammatical rules for AE. The demand for specific information naturally requires a knowledge of the dialect in question and available reference works. In cases where descriptive reference works may not be available, the observant test user may pay attention to the linguistic form of an individual and check his usage against that of the speaker's peers to see if test performance can be attributed to a legitimate dialect difference or not.

Principle 4. The test user should consider the accessibility of information on individual items in the test from the scoring. In some cases, recurrent patterns in the answers of test takers may give important clues as to the nature of sociolinguistic interference. In order to perform the type of item analysis necessary to discover such patterns, however, it is necessary to be able to retrieve not only information on specific test items, including the categories of "wrong" answers. Unfortunately, there are a number of standardized tests where the results are available only in terms of total scores. This means that there is no potential for looking at the distribution of specific responses. On one level, test scores must be considered as important sociolinguistic data, and there are a number of ways in which the data can be analyzed if the test user has access to information on specific items. Without such specific information, however, the sociolinguistic usefulness of test results is minimal.

Principle 5: The test user should know how to interpret the results of a test for non-mainstream speakers. Given the possible ways in which a test may systematically favor certain groups, it becomes essential to know how the results from a given test must be interpreted. For example, it is important to know what a raw score of 8 out of 33 correct responses on the ITPA grammatic closure subtest may mean for the AE speaker who systematically uses legitimate AE alternates for many of the items which would have to be scored incorrect according to the directions for scoring in the test manual. The language capabilities of such a speaker may be very different from that of the speaker of the mainstream variety who obtains a score of 8 or the AE speaker who obtains a low score not because of the AE alternates but because he has a genuine language disability.

Principle 6: The test user must know what justifiable classifications and assessments can be made in light of the test's potential for sociolinguistic bias. Ultimately, the use of test results in the decision-making process is the most crucial aspect for the test user to consider. Given the potential for bias that many tests hold, the test user must proceed with extreme caution in accepting diagnoses and classifications based on test scores. In fact, it is reasonable to suggest that no diagnosis or classification of language capabilities should be made solely on the basis of a standardized test score. Evidence from tests must be coupled with other types of data, including observations outside of the testing situation. Ultimately, attention must be given to the individual's use of language in a number of different social settings before any decision can be made regarding a child's language capabilities.

5.2.5 An Illustrative Case

The principles set forth above may be illustrated by turning again to an actual test. For illustrative purposes, we have chosen the language skills subtest of the California Achievement Test (1963) which has fairly wide distribution in various sections of the United States. We observe that the California Achievement test is designed "for the measurement, evaluation, and diagnosis of school achievement" (CAT Manual 1963:2). While this is what the test claims to be measuring with reference to language, the language subtest turns out, for the most part, to be a test in the recognition of written standard English sentences.[5] This recognition may or may not be related to skills achieved in school. For the speaker of a non-mainstream variety who is being taught standard English in school, it might relate to school achievement; however, for the speaker of a mainstream variety who comes to school speaking a mainstream variety, it has no direct relation to what is being learned in the schools. There is, then, a discrepancy between what the test claims to be testing and what it actually assesses for different groups of speakers (Principle 1).

The test makes two important assumptions about the test taker's participation in the task (cf. Principle 2). For one, it assumes reading ability. Although the recognition of standard English may exist independent of reading, it cannot be tapped here unless the child can read. Furthermore, the test presumes familiarity in a mutually exclusive response format such as $\underline{\text{He}} \begin{Bmatrix}\text{are}\\ \text{is}\end{Bmatrix} \underline{\text{my cousin}}$. One additional point in terms of the task involves the instructions to "make an $\underline{X}$ on the one you think is correct in each sentence". This direction requires that a child extract from the typical real life situation, where the $\underline{X}$ is used to cross out wrong answers.

The specific items which may vary in this test for the AE speaker as opposed to that of the speaker of a mainstream variety are seen in the following table (Principle 3). In this case, the answers considered correct according to the test manual are underlined. In those cases where an alternate form would be acceptable according to the rules of AE, we have listed the section in Chapter Four where the particular rule is discussed.

Of the 25 items in the test, there are 15 in which the alternate form in the list of choices is a legitimate AE linguistic item. In these 15 cases, the AE speaker who intuitively follows the rules of his dialect will obtain answers which would be marked incorrect. The speaker of a mainstream variety, however, should obtain correct responses here simply by following intuitively the rules of his dialect.

The scoring of the test may provide a breakdown in terms of the individual items if hand scored (Principle 4). It is unclear if the alternate procedure involving machine scoring allows for the retrieval of answers to individual items, but such information would appear necessary to see how much influence the speaker's intuitive rules of AE may actually have on his answers.

The interpretation of results for the speaker of a non-mainstream variety can best be done by comparison with what the results may mean for the speaker of a mainstream variety (Principle 5). For the majority of items, the mainstream dialect speakers are tested on the recognition of

Stimulus with "Correct" Item According to Test Manual	Section in Chapter Four Where AE Alternate Discussed
1. He $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{are}\\ \underline{\text{is}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ my cousin.	
2. Can you $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{go}}\\ \text{went}\end{matrix}\right\}$ out now?	
3. Beth $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{come}\\ \underline{\text{came}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ home and cried.	4.1.3
4. We $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{were}}\\ \text{was}\end{matrix}\right\}$ told to sit down.	4.1.2
5. Mark read the poem $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{too}\\ \underline{\text{to}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ the class.	
6. My sister $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{am}\\ \underline{\text{is}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ six years old.	
7. I have read $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{those}}\\ \text{them}\end{matrix}\right\}$ books before.	4.4.3.2
8. She $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{were}\\ \underline{\text{was}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ a nice girl.	
9. He $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{run}\\ \underline{\text{ran}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ all the way to school.	4.1.3
10. She $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{see}\\ \underline{\text{saw}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ the cow in the barn.	
11. I $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{am}}\\ \text{are}\end{matrix}\right\}$ a good pupil.	
12. A man $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{came}}\\ \text{comed}\end{matrix}\right\}$ to the door.	4.1.3
13. I didn't hear $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{no}\\ \underline{\text{any}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ noise.	4.3.1
14. There $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{were}}\\ \text{was}\end{matrix}\right\}$ no ducks on the lake.	4.1.2
15. I try not to talk $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{too}}\\ \text{to}\end{matrix}\right\}$ much.	
16. Is $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{this here}\\ \underline{\text{this}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ your pencil?	4.4.3.2
17. He $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{can}}\\ \text{may}\end{matrix}\right\}$ read very well.	
18. She will give me $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{them}\\ \underline{\text{those}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ dolls.	4.4.3.2

Stimulus with "Correct" Item According to Test Manual	Section in Chapter Four Where AE Alternant Discussed
19. We have $\begin{Bmatrix}\underline{\text{run}}\\ \text{runned}\end{Bmatrix}$ many blocks	4.1.3
20. When $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{can}\\ \underline{\text{may}}\end{Bmatrix}$ I come again?	
21. She $\begin{Bmatrix}\underline{\text{doesn't}}\\ \text{don't}\end{Bmatrix}$ read very well.	4.1.2
22. She and $\begin{Bmatrix}\underline{\text{I}}\\ \text{me}\end{Bmatrix}$ are good friends.	4.4.3.2
23. I just $\begin{Bmatrix}\underline{\text{began}}\\ \text{begun}\end{Bmatrix}$ my lessons.	4.1.3
24. I have just $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{wrote}\\ \underline{\text{written}}\end{Bmatrix}$ a poem.	4.1.3
25. $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{Isn't}\\ \underline{\text{Aren't}}\end{Bmatrix}$ most houses painted white?	4.1.2

Table 35. California Achievement Test with AE Alternate Forms

their mainstream dialect rules in writing. Following their intuitions in terms of the rules they have acquired from their community, they should obtain correct responses without assistance from the school. For speakers of a non-mainstream variety, however, it measures the ability to recognize written standard English, a dialect different from the one they have acquired in their community. Dependence on intuitions from the dialect they have acquired would lead them to responses quite different from that of mainstream dialect speakers. If standard English is being taught in the school, then the test might tap some facet of school achievement in language for the speaker of a non-mainstream variety. It is, however, inappropriate to compare results from the mainstream and non-mainstream speakers as aspects of school achievement, since the test may be measuring quite different things in each case.

In connection with the observations made above, the test user should know what legitimate assessments can be made on the basis of this test (Principle 6). As an indicator of the recognition of written standard English in a particular testing format, it may hold some validity. However, as an assessment instrument of basic school achievement in language skills, it must be viewed quite cautiously, for the results may lead to unfounded conclusions.

5.3 Language Arts and Dialect Diversity

There are several different educational issues related to language arts and dialect diversity. These include the teaching of spoken standard English, written standard English, and the role of the study of dialect diversity as a part of the general educational background of the language arts student. Although these different aspects are inter-related in many ways, we shall discuss them separately here.

5.3.1 Spoken Standard English

One of the most controversial educational issues related to the study of non-mainstream varieties concerns the teaching of spoken standard English. Many linguists and educators hold strong convictions about this issue. There appear to be essentially two dimensions of this controversy, one relating to the philosophical position on whether standard English should be taught and the other relating to the reality of the prospects for success in teaching spoken standard English.

There are several different goals that an educator may have in teaching standard English. One possible goal, which has fairly solid historical roots, has become known as eradicationism. The goal of eradicationism is to eliminate the various phonological and grammatical forms that are socially stigmatized replacing them with their standard English counterparts. For example, eradicating such features for AE speakers would involve an attempt to eliminate the use of multiple negatives, various AE patterns of irregular verbs, or perfective done. At the same time, the goal would be to replace each one with its standard English correspondence. In many cases, the motivation for this position is based on the conviction that nonstandard forms are simply corruptions of standard English that lead to cognitive deficits and learning disabilities. The indefensibility of this view as discussed previously (cf. Section 5.1) weakens the position of eradicationism from the perspective of most linguists. A different incentive for this position comes from the premise that nonstandard English forms, although they are linguistically and cognitively the equal of their standard English counterparts, still confer a social stigma on their speakers. For this reason, some educators feel that such features should be eliminated in order to allow the student the full opportunity to enter mainstream society. In this case, the position is not advocated on the basis of a belief in the linguistic inferiority of non-mainstream varieties, but rather as a means of accommodating the "social realities" of our society. It should be noted, however, that such accommodation assumes the inevitability of existent language prejudices, and is therefore open to question on this basis.

An alternative to eradicationism is bidialectalism. In bidialectalism, standard English is taught, but with no effort to eradicate the student's non-mainstream variety. At the end of the teaching process, the student ideally would be able to use either standard or nonstandard forms as the situation required. Bidialectalism overtly rejects the notion that nonstandard English forms are inherently inferior, but like eradicationism, it does assume that the social stigmatization of nonstandard English is both significant and inevitable. Some object to this position because it accepts the existent linguistic prejudices of American society while others have questioned bidialectalism on the basis that it often has the same end result as eradicationism rather than achieving the espoused goal of co-existent varieties appropriate for different situations.

The third alternative is to maintain non-mainstream dialects with no attempt to teach standard English either as a replacement for the non-mainstream variety or as an addition to it. This position has been set forth most strongly in two articles by Sledd (1969; 1972). Sledd maintains that attention should be devoted to an attack on the negative language attitudes of those who impose their linguistic prejudices on others. While some support this moral ideal, there are those who point out that attitudinal change is often slow and incomplete. Meanwhile, those who are penalized on the basis of their speech are asked to bide their time until society changes its attitude toward them. The practical consequences for the speaker of a non-mainstream variety, given current language attitudes, may not be jusitifed in terms of the moral ideal.

Various arguments could, of course, be extended in favor of or in opposition to each of the positions given above. Our purpose here is not to be exhaustive in our treatment, but simply to set forth the possible alternatives. It should, however, be noted that there is no "safe" position among the alternatives. Advocates of eradicationism face the ire of many who accept the legitimacy of non-mainstream varieties. To endorse bidialectalism invites the criticism of traditional educators and language purists on the one hand, and on the other hand evokes objections from the more outspoken critics for compromising moral ideals for the sake of "social reality". And, the position that standard English should not be taught brings strong opposition from those who, for one reason or another, believe in the importance of knowing standard English in our society.

Even if we take the position that standard English should be taught for one reason or another, we are still faced with the question of how successful we can expect to be in teaching it. Past history seems to indicate that there is considerable reason for pessimism. It is quite possible to come to the conclusion that the influence of the school teacher with respect to the teaching of standard English is minimal at best. Speakers who start out speaking a variety of non-mainstream English but then find it necessary to use standard English will learn it. On the other hand, many students have been quite resilient in resisting the attempts of the school to teach them standard English. The reason is that learning spoken language is different from some other types of learning and it cannot be brought about with methods and materials alone. It appears that the desire on the part of the learner to become a member of the group represented by the speakers of the new language variety is a crucial motivational factor in learning success. Herman (1961:162-163) notes:

> If, as our analysis would indicate, group references play an important part in the choice of a language, it would follow that the readiness of a person to learn and use a second language may depend in part on the measure of his willingness to identify with the group with which the language is associated--or, at any rate, on his desire to reduce the social distance between himself and that group.

Language learning is somewhat different from other types of learning in that it depends very heavily on a psychological factor of group reference. If this motivation is present, non-mainstream dialect speakers can be expected to learn standard English, with or without formal teaching. Afterall, the schools, in one form or another, have attempted to teach standard English, but for some time, it is only those individuals from non-mainstream groups who are upwardly mobile in their social status or aspirations who consistently learn and use standard English forms.

If the group reference factor is present and the student is oriented toward learning standard English, a well-designed program may aid in guiding a student toward this goal. There are various methodologies which have been proposed, including the utilization of techniques developed by linguists for teaching foreign languages to speakers of English. (For a summary of one such technique, see Feigenbaum 1969, 1970). Rather than detail here the various types of methodologies which might be used, it is more appropriate to set forth some guidelines that may serve as a basis for the development of adequate strategies for teaching standard English.

1. The teaching of standard English must take into account the importance of the group reference factor. As mentioned above, the group reference factor may be the most essential variable in the success of teaching spoken standard English. This is, unfortunately, the most difficult aspect to incorporate into materials since it is so dependent upon social relation networks and aspirations often not under the control of the formal educational system. Efforts to motivate students in terms of future employment opportunities are often illusionary and pretentious. In many cases, the motivational factor must be assumed before the formal teaching of standard English begins. Because of this assumption, there are some educators who feel that formal instruction in standard English should be an optional rather than an obligatory part of a school curriculum. In this way, systematic instruction is provided for students who want to learn standard English while those who feel no need for it are not subjected to a curriculum that would probably be ineffectual for them anyway.

2. The goals for teaching spoken standard English should be clearly recognized in the teaching program. It is essential to keep the goals clearly in the forefront in establishing an effective program for teaching standard English. The curriculum should be reflective of the goal both philosophically and methodologically. If, for example, the goals is bidialectalism rather than eradicationism, then such an approach must be formally integrated into the materials. It is questionable whether a program can be effective in terms of bidialectalism if all the materials are structured unidirectionally; that is with all of the exercises involving some type of translation from the nonstandard to the standard form. In such a case, the materials may end up looking like they endorse eradicationism even if the overtly stated goal is bidailectalism. One of the innovations of Feigenbaum's materials (cf. Feigenbaum 1970) is the active use of strategies which require both the teacher and student to use nonstandard forms in the course of the exercises, so that the translation exercises flow in both directions.

The goals of the curriculum must also consider the appropriateness of language usage in terms of the nonstandard and standard English forms. Just as there are contexts in which standard English is appropriate, there are contexts in which a non-mainstream variety is appropriate.

The teaching of standard English must be fully cognizant of this contextual sensitivity and include it as a part of the teaching strategy. Although there may be a number of different methods by which learning activities toward this goal can be structured (e.g. role playing, setting up different contexts of real life situations), the integration of this sensitivity into the curriculum is crucial.

3. The teaching of standard English should be coupled with information on the nature of dialect diversity. Students should know that the reason they are learning standard English is not related to any linguistic inadequacy of their own system or their failure to learn the English language. They should be taught about the systematic structure of their own language system and the patterned nature of language differences. Speakers of a non-mainstream variety should be given the social basis for learning an alternative system instead of a fallacious linguistic reason.

4. The teaching of standard English should be based on an understanding of the systematic differences between the standard and nonstandard forms. Materials will be most effective if they are based on a knowledge of the relationship between the features of the mainstream variety and its non-mainstream counterpart. For example, any attempt to teach a mainstream alternative to AE should start with a knowledge of the systematic differences between the varieties, such as those described in Chapters Three and Four. An understanding of the similarities and differences in the rules of the varieties provides important input into the construction of materials.

Considerations of linguistic differences in rules may also be an important factor in ordering the materials with respect to the teaching of different features. For example, Wolfram (1970) has suggested that standard English teaching should start, other things being equal, with those rules which are more general in their effect rather than those affecting restricted sets or individual lexical items. An understanding of the systematic differences between the standard and non-standard forms can help eliminate many of the unnecessary features which are focused on in some current materials as well as assist in the consideration of priorities in terms of the teaching of various standard English forms.

5. The variety of spoken standard English taught should be realistic in terms of the language norms of the community. The variety of standard English which is taught should reflect the local community norms. That is, the basis of any instruction should be the informal standard English norm of the regional variety rather than a formal standard English not actually used in the region. It must be remembered that some aspects of social diagnosticity are quite sensitive to regional differences. Teaching should focus on items that are socially stigmatized within the particular region rather than some of the regional characteristics which may carry minimal social stigma. Grammatical variables are more prone to have general social significance in terms of different regions of the United States, and therefore, should probably be given priority over those phonological and lexical differences which tend to be more regionally sensitive.

Although other guidelines might be added to those given above, the essential factor which emerges from these principles is the serious consideration that must be given to the teaching of standard English. If it is to be taught, a number of important issues must be dealt with in order to improve the prospect for success. It is not a subject which can be taught as a haphazard and tangential adjunct to other subject matter. If it is treated incidently in connection with other education skills such as math, science, reading, and so forth, the failure of students to speak standard English may become an unnecessary obstacle to the acquisition of more central educational skills.

5.3.2 Written Standard English

In the consideration of written standard English, it is important to look carefully at the needs of students in different types of writing situations. There are some situations, such as in a personal letter to a peer or family member, where it may be unnecessary to insist on written standard English in every detail. However, in most "official" situations such as filling out forms. Composing business letters, and so forth, the ability to write standard English can be important and so developing this ability is an appropriate goal for a language arts teacher to set for students. Even those most adamantly opposed to teaching spoken standard English would concede this requirement.

In the process of teaching written standard English, it is useful for the teacher to be able to distinguish between three different types of problems in writing. First of all, there are problems in organization and the logical progression of an argument or narration. This type of problem is, at some point, quite common to practically everyone who learns how to write and is not related to dialect differences as such. The writing process, although a derivative of speaking, is in some respects quite different from speaking and certain problems may be related to this difference. There are, for example, different stylistic conventions which characterize writing in contrast with speaking. There is also a different type of editing process which results from the visual representation of speech as opposed to the auditory editing process of spoken language. The progression of writing vis-à-vis speaking also involves a different rate of speed. For example, writing takes somewhat longer to produce than speaking in most instances, and this may cause certain types of problems for the beginning writer. There may be a tendency to "jump ahead" in the progression of writing since the time taken to write down one sentence may put a writer several thoughts ahead of what he is actually writing. These sorts of problems, however, are characteristic of the inherent difference between the written and spoken message and can affect anyone learning to write, regardless of the variety of language spoken.

Other difficulties may stem from the mechanical aspects of learning how to write. Certain types of errors in spelling, punctuation, and grammar may not be traceable to any difference in the spoken variety of a language, but are simply part of the arbitrary, but conventional usage of certain mechanisms in writing. For example, the system of capitalization in English writing, the use of periods, commas, and certain arbitrary spellings are aspects of the English system that any speaker of English must master, regardless of their dialect. Thus, the spelling of to for too or laied for laid, the failure to use commas in a series of items, the failure to use quotation marks, and so forth, are simply related to the mechanical aspects of learning to write in English.

There is, however, a third type of problem whose cause may be traced to dialect differences. In these cases, grammatical problems or spelling errors may be based on influence from the spoken language. While formal differences between written and spoken language certainly exist in all varieties of English, the extent of the influence of spoken language on writing may be greater for the speaker of a non-mainstream variety. Viewed in terms of a continuum, we may present the differences between the spoken and written language as follows:

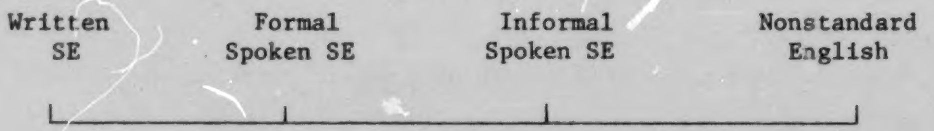


Figure 6. Continuum of Difference in Written and Spoken Language

In this continuum, we see that non-mainstream varieties of English would be further removed from written standard English than either formal or informal spoken standard English, although none of the spoken varieties may be exactly identical to the written standard language.

In the strictest sense, those aspects of writing related to dialect differences are not errors at all, but are simply the reflection in writing of the differences in grammar, phonology, and verbal expression between the non-mainstream dialect and the standard one by which the writing is being judged. In one set of freshman compositions written by non-mainstream speakers, over 40 per cent of all items marked by teachers as errors could be related to the influence of speech (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:203). While the extent of spoken language influence may not be this high in all cases, it must be recognized that the influence of spoken language on writing can be substantial. For example, suppose a writer spelled both *pin* and *pen* or *tinder* and *tender* with an *i*. Although this might, on initial glance, simply be considered a mechanical error, it may instead be a reflection of dialect influence if the speaker does not contrast the *i* and *e* before a nasal sound (cf. Section 3.9.6). Similarly, a speaker of AE who pronounces *once* as *oncet* might be tempted to place the t on this item in the writing (cf. Section 3.1.3). In such cases, the commonly used suggestion to "sound out" the spelling might turn out to confuse rather than clarify the writing problem. Similar problems may relate to grammatical rules. Thus a speaker of AE who writes a sentence such as Yesterday it was a man come in the house might be reflecting influence from his spoken language in several instances. For one, the choice of the expletive it corresponding to there in standard English could be derived from a feature of his spoken dialect (cf. Section 4.4.5). The use of the present form of the verb come in a past tense context may also be reflective of the AE system with respect to irregular verbs (cf. Section 4.1.3). Finally, the absence of a relative pronoun is not necessarily due to a careless omission of a word in writing, but may rather be a result of the relative pronoun deletion rule operating in the dialect (cf. Section 4.4.3.5). There is, then, a considerable amount of spoken dialect divergence which may be responsible for certain types of writing problems.

In the teaching of writing, the first step toward effective instruction involves an accurate diagnosis of the various types of potential problems. To treat these different categories as one general problem may confuse the student so that it becomes difficult for the teacher to effectively deal with the writing problem. Naturally, the differentiation of dialect influence from other types of writing difficulties presumes that the teacher knows what the predominant features of the spoken dialect are and how they operate. In this regard, the descriptive aspects of AE given in Chapters Three and Four may be used as a reference to the areas where spoken forms could potentially have an influence on the writing of AE-speaking students.

The accurate identification of different dimensions of writing problems may be a first step in setting priorities in the development of writing skills. Thus, for example, theme development and the logical progression of a thought may be given first priority at one stage of development, followed by an emphasis of mechanical skills at another stage, and dialect influence at still another stage. Although the writer may eventually need to deal with all types of writing problems in developing capabilities in written standard English, the eventual goal might be reached most efficiently by structuring methods to deal with different problems at different stages. Furthermore, the dimension of dialect influence in writing may call for the development of pedagogical materials which are qualitatively different from currently available materials.

For example, certain types of editing processes and exercises related to dialect influence may be different from those relating to mechanical types of problems. Thus, contrastive drills analogous to those set forth by Feigenbaum (1970) for spoken standard English might be used for teaching written standard English. Aspects of dialect influence in writing may also be utilized in teaching about the nature of dialect diversity and the difference between written and spoken language.

5.3.3 Integrating Dialect Diversity into Language Arts

In addition to the considerations of standard spoken and written English discussed above, we should note the potential that the study of AE has for the investigation of dialect diversity and general linguistic inquiry as a part of language arts. In a number of the more recent language arts materials developed for both primary and secondary levels, the nature of dialect diversity has been given some attention. Within this context, the study of AE can provide a rich data source for the first-hand observation of such diversity. For the most part, individuals within the Appalachian range are aware of language differences between this area and other regions of the United States. Unfortunately, in many cases, such diversity is often seen in terms of unwarranted stereotypes rather than as a valid object of study in order to determine the nature of these differences. Data from the AE system can provide a base from which an accurate understanding of the systematic nature of linguistic diversity could be developed. Both individual introspection and the collection of samples from other residents in the area may serve as a data base.

The knowledge of a language is a somewhat unique kind of knowledge in that a speaker has it simply by virtue of the fact that he speaks a language. While much of this knowledge is, to be sure, on a tacit rather than a conscious level, it allows the potential for systematic tapping that few disciplines can match. Examining how a speaker of AE uses his language provides a natural laboratory for making generalizations based on an array of data. In this context, our knowledge of the language can be used as the basis for hypothesizing rules which govern the use of particular linguistic items. These hypotheses, formulated on the basis of initial observation, can then be checked against additional data that we provide as speakers of a language. In a sense, then, hypothesis construction and testing as an approach to the nature of scientific inquiry can be examined through the unique laboratory of language. While the formalization of particular aspects of the system may call for specific training, it is quite clear that accurate generalizations are not the unique domain of the professional linguist; they are open to any speaker of a language. From this perspective, the speaker of AE should be encouraged to use his knowledge of the system as an introduction to the systematic nature of dialect diversity.

Although the above suggestion may, at first glance, seem somewhat abstract and removed from the actual situation in the language arts classroom, it can readily be translated into practical language arts exercises. For example, take an item such as perfective or completive done. In an attempt to introduce students to the systematic way in which this form operates, a teacher might ask them to construct sentences where the time or aspect perspective makes the use of done permissible. This would then be compared with instances where it would not be permissible (cf. Section 4.1.4 for actual details). On the basis of the acceptable and unacceptable contexts, students may then come up with a hypothesis which in turn could be checked against the data. The rules must, of course, ultimately account for all but only the cases where the form is permissible. The significance of such an exercise lies as much in the process as in the result. That is, the fact that the students provide the data, make the hypothesis, and then check this against the data is an important aspect of learning. In this way, students may learn about the nature of scientific inquiry in language and the systematic nature of linguistic diversity. Many of the descriptive features in Chapters Three and Four would lend themselves conveniently to such types of exercises. In fact, hypotheses that students arrive at may be checked with the analyses provided here, and revisions made on this basis. While this type of exercise may appear to be more appropriate to students on a secondary level, such an approach has been experimented with quite successfully on a primary level as well.

In addition to the use of introspective techniques such as those described above, it is possible to use the linguistic diversity within

Appalachia itself to considerable advantage in the language arts curriculum. For example, language change can be examined through the comparison of speakers from different age levels. As we mentioned in previous chapters an important dimension of the diversity within AE relates to age differences. Students could interview older and middle-aged residents and then look for ways in which their own usage differed from that observed in the interviews. Here again, we must point out that the expertise of the professional linguist is not necessary to make valid observations.

The use of the community as a base for looking at diversity within Appalachia may have advantages other than the examination of age differences. For one, it may serve as an impetus to look at the roots of the English language as it has developed through the years. In this way, the study of the history of the English language can be a meaningful and vibrant subject matter for classroom discussion. Another advantage of sending students into the community itself relates to the preservation of the cultural and oral traditions of the region. There is, for example, a rich oral tradition and verbal art which has developed around story-telling in Appalachia. An indication of the recognition of this art is found in the fact that most people in the community can readily recall individuals who are recognized as "good story tellers". Using such residents as sources for preserving the traditions of the region could be a rewarding activity as well as providing an opportunity to look at the art of story-telling. The qualities that make a person a good story-teller could be investigated by comparing different individuals recognized as story tellers as well as by eliciting comments from the community concerning the characteristics of a good story. While we shall not detail them here, there are many ways in which community themes can be tapped in meaningful educational and cultural ways. The success of Eliot Wigginton's Foxfire collections attests to the cultural and educational advantages of using the community itself as a primary source in language arts. In the context of the linguistic tradition of Appalachia, there is great opportunity for the language arts specialist to use first-hand data in a meaningful way in the education of children from the region. In many cases, however, such resources are not going to be tapped if activities are limited to the conventional approaches to the curriculum in language arts. The creative language arts specialist will have to go beyond such sources in utilizing the potential of the community itself. Although this admittedly requires a different type of preparation and some creativity, language arts specialists who invest their energy in such an effort should reap rich rewards for their work.

5.4 Dialect Diversity and Reading

As we saw in the last section in Figure 6, the distance from written standard English to non-mainstream varieties of English is greater than that to varieties of spoken standard English. This fact naturally has implications for children acquiring the skill of reading, since they bring with them the variety of English from the community around them and are faced with a form of written standard English as reading material. The question that has been raised by sociolinguists and educators is how great an effect this mismatch has on the acquisition of reading skills.

The role language plays in the acquisition and process of reading is an important one. In speech, language rules mediate between sound and meaning. While the purposes for which written language is used may differ from those of speech, the reading process must also involve these rules, mediating instead between visual symbols and meaning. This interrelationship between language and reading is thus a crucial one and may have even further implications for the learning processes involved. Frank Smith observes:

> Whatever the relation of speech to writing, the fact that almost all children have acquired a good deal of verbal fluency before they face the task of learning to read has a dual significance for understanding the reading process. In the first place children have a basis of language that is obviously relevant to the process of learning to read - the written language is basically the same language as that of speech, even if it has special lexical, syntactic, and and communicational aspects. But equally important, study of the manner in which children learn to speak and understand spoken language can provide considerable insight into the manner in which they might approach the task of learning to read.
>
> (1971:45)

Given the influence of language in reading, we must ask how great a problem the mismatch between spoken language and the language of reading materials poses for the child in developing reading skills. This mismatch is present to some extent for all children, due to the characteristic differences between speech and writing. Our focus here, however, is on those cases where dialect diversity makes the distance even greater. While it is not yet known what degree of difference leads to difficulty in learning to read, there is evidence that children who speak non-mainstream varieties of English show a higher rate of failure in reading than others. While this higher rate is undoubtedly a product of other social factors as well, it seems likely that language patterns are involved. (See, for example, Baratz 1973, Venezky and Chapman 1973.)

There are obviously a large number of areas of potential conflict due to differing language patterns when someone is developing reading skills. For instance, when reading aloud, a very common activity in the earlier grades, an AE speaker might say *acrosst* when the printed work is *across* (Section 3.1.3). If this and other comparable features are counted as reading errors rather than being recognized as features of spoken language, the student's reading ability may be underestimated. Frequent correction in these cases might also lead to confusion on the student's part, since the task of acquiring reading skills may become enmeshed with learning standard forms of English.

Sociolinguists and educators who have considered the problem of differing language patterns and reading have suggested various ways of dealing with it. The options basically involve changing the methods or the materials for teaching reading in order to accommodate dialect diversity. These four alternatives are discussed in detail by Wolfram (1970b). It is not our intention to advocate any one of the options but rather to state briefly the advantages and disadvantages each has. An important consideration in all cases is the need for an understanding of the features of the dialect before any special measures can be undertaken. With an inventory of features such as that found in Chapters Three and Four, modifications in programs can be suited to the specific groups involved. That is, materials or methods designed with Vernacular Black English speakers in mind, for example, would not be appropriate for use with AE speakers due to the significant differences between the two varieties. In most cases, it would be preferable to retain programs geared to mainstream varieties of English rather than assuming that non-mainstream varieties were enough alike to allow the same approach for all of them.

Two of the alternative ways of handling dialect diversity with respect to reading have the advantage that no change in materials would be required. The first of these involves changing the child instead. In this approach, standard English would be taught before any reading instruction began, in order to reduce the gap between the spoken language and the reading materials. Then the teaching of reading could proceed, ideally with no problems caused by dialect interference. The rationale for this method takes two very different forms. Those who believe that non-mainstream varieties are deficient in some way advocate it, not only as a way to facilitate the acquisition of reading skills but also to remedy the cognitive handicap such children are assumed to have because of their language system. This interpretation, as we saw in Section 5.1, cannot be justified and so any program dependent on it could not be seen as desirable. Other advocates of this position, however, recognize non-mainstream dialects as legitimate linguistic systems. They feel that standard English must be taught prior to reading to ease some of the difficulties there. In this way, the student would control both varieties and could call on the standard one during the development of reading skills.

The proposal stemming from the second type of rationale seems very attractive until the practical implementation is considered, when certain disadvantages become apparent. First of all, teaching standard English first would mean that all reading instruction would have to be postponed for some period of time. This delay might have some effect on learning to read itself and would certainly cause the students involved to lag behind the other members of their grade for a while at least. Secondly, and probably most important, it is not at all clear that widespread success can be expected in teaching standard English (see Section 5.3 for a discussion of this). If success in teaching the language forms is uncertain, delaying reading instruction until it is accomplished would not appear to be a desirable course of action.

The second alternative provides for allowing non-mainstream speakers to read in their own dialect (noticeable mainly during reading "aloud"). This has the advantage that it can be implemented immediately with no change in the student or the materials. In this case, the teacher would accept alternate forms from the standard materials as accurate renditions if they represent features of the student's spoken language variety. This approach particularly demands a familiarity with the variety on the part of the teachers so that a clear distinction can be maintained between true reading errors and dialect features. The teachers in this case must also be observers of the students' spoken language to be confident that the features are in fact part of their systems. According to this approach, an AE speaker who reads There were four yellow flowers as They was four yeller flowers would not be corrected if the teacher has noticed this type of concord (Section 4.1.2), final unstressed -ow (Section 3.9.4), and expletive they (Section 4.4.5) as features of the student's speech. It would, in fact, seem likely that such students are exhibiting good comprehension by interpreting the sentence according to their own language patterns.

There are potential disadvantages to this approach as well although they appear less severe than those for teaching standard English first. Although most of the differences between mainstream and non-mainstream varieties are apparently surface level phenomena, there is a possibility that some meaning will be missed or misinterpreted by non-mainstream speakers when reading standard English materials. Little evidence is available on this point and hence it is impossible to determine how greatly comprehension would be affected if this method is adopted. Also, those who advocate teaching standard English would object to this approach on the grounds that it would not necessarily contribute to the learning of standard forms. However, it is important to remember that learning spoken standard English and learning to read are different activities and, as goals of teaching, should be clearly distinguished.

The remaining two alternatives involve changing the materials to lessen the gap between a student's language patterns and those of the reading materials. Where modification of materials is required, there is naturally the practical disadvantage of cost. Again, it is extremely important to have available an accurate description of the variety in question, as well as some idea as to the generality and importance of the features to justify designing materials around them. The restructuring of materials would also mean that different sets would need to be developed for the various non-mainstream varieties where dialect diversity was found to cause difficulty for students in learning to read since the nature and extent of features different from standard English varies.

The development of "dialect-fair" or "dialect-free" materials, the third option on our list, is probably the less controversial of the remaining two. This proposal basically aims at reducing the problems caused by dialect differences by eliminating, as far as possible, those features in the standard English texts which have alternate forms in the non-mainstream variety. In this approach, a text intended for AE speakers would, for example, have no instances of expletive there due to the nonstandard concord patterns it can follow (Section 4.1.2) and would avoid using past tense irregular verbs for the same reason (Section 4.1.3). The rationale for this approach is based on the belief that learning to read is facilitated by eliminating those features which would be unfamiliar to the non-mainstream speaker. None of the alternate nonstandard forms are used; only standard forms that are also part of the variety are included.

The major disadvantage to this approach lies in its assumption that it is feasible to construct reading materials in this way, that mainstream and non-mainstream varieties have enough in common to provide for such neutral texts. As we have seen in Chapters Three and Four, the number of features which have alternate forms in a non-mainstream variety can be quite large. To avoid them in composing a text might cause the language of the materials to be very unnatural. For instance, in materials designed with AE in mind, no relative clauses like I know the people who lived up there could be used due to potential relative pronoun deletion (Section 4.4.3.5), adverbs that had standard forms ending in -ly such as originally and certainly would have to be avoided due to the possibility of -ly absence (Section 4.2.4) and so on. Some evaluation measure might be used, however, to determine a ranking for the features so that only the more important ones would need to be involved. In this way, the gap might be reduced without making the materials too unnatural.

Constructing entirely new texts, although time-consuming, might allow for the use of this method. Attempts to alter existing materials might prove more difficult, as Wolfram and Fasold (1974:197) point out:

> Even if the overall differences between the standard and nonstandard dialect are significantly less than the similarities, the clustering of differences may make this strategy virtually unusable for particular types of passages.

Neutralization of reading materials with respect to non-mainstream varieties could have certain advantages, however. Eliminating the features that might be unfamiliar to non-mainstream speakers could simplify the task of learning to read for them. Neutralization of texts without incorporation of nonstandard forms also avoids the controversy over whether or not it is desirable to include socially stimgatized language patterns. It would be possible for teachers to use this strategy to some extent without costly revisions of materials by designing certain texts on their own, provided, of course, they are aware of which features should be neutralized.

The fourth alternative that has been suggested by certain sociolinguists and educators is the use of dialect readers for beginning materials. This proposal involves developing texts written in the non-mainstream variety spoken by the students, with a gradual conversion to standard English materials once reading skills have been established. Those who advocate this strategy (see, for example, Baratz 1973 and the discussion of these readers in Leaverton 1973) argue that learning to read is facilitated if the language patterns of the student's speech are more closely matched by those appearing in beginning readers. An additional advantage comes from the confidence this may give the student with respect to his speech; that is, feelings that it is somehow "inferior", which are fairly common, may be lessened if the variety is represented in printed materials and not stigmatized in the classroom.

This alternative would require not only development of early reading materials written using the non-mainstream variety but also a set of transitional readers which would gradually introduce the various alternate standard forms. An example sentence in a test intended for AE speakers might be developed in the following way, using the description of features in Chapters Three and Four. A first representation might be They come here about three year ago. Then, a later stage might add the plural ending, giving They come here about three years ago (Section 4.4.1) and finally, the standard form of the irregular past tense would be introduced (Section 4.1.3), giving They came here about three years ago. Naturally, because of the development of reading skills that would be going on, as well as the fact that sets of materials would be different, the sentences would not be replicated exactly as in this example. A schema for introducing standard features would need to be devised, though, based on an accurate descriptive account of the variety and some decision procedure for establishing an order for the entry of particular forms or patterns at various levels.

We mentioned above that this strategy is the most controversial of the alternatives. Looking at it in a purely practical light, the difficulties of implementation, in terms of developing the materials alone, presents quite an obstacle. The strongest criticisms, however, have come from those who believe that standard English should be taught and feel that the use of dialect readers will only reinforce the non-mainstream language patterns, and thus delay the acquisition of standard English. This objection often is voiced by members of the community from which the students come who are sensitive to the social stigmatization of the various dialect features. There is also a feeling that the use of different materials for a particular group signifies some inferiority on the part of that group, in that it is assumed they are unable to learn to read in the same way as everyone else. This type of criticism is made as well by others who feel it is the job of the schools to teach standard English and this approach can only impede progress toward that goal. Leaverton (1973) discusses the difficulty of convincing school personnel to allow dialect readers to be used even on an experimental basis to determine their effectiveness. Thus, the controversy that surrounds this approach is a disadvantage that may be impossible to overcome at this time.

Another problem with dialect readers is the identification of the population for whom they are appropriate. Care must be taken to ensure that these materials are truly reflective of the language patterns of the students, since a reverse mismatch would occur if they are not. In some cases, the texts have inappropriately been used as general remedial materials, for students having difficulty with the acquisition of reading skills when not all the students were speakers of the non-mainstream variety in question. This would undoubtedly only lead to greater confusion on the part of such students. Dialect readers are not remedial materials and precautions should be taken to prevent this type of misuse.

It should be apparent from the above discussion that none of the alternatives provides a foolproof way of dealing with dialect diversity and the teaching of reading. There is as yet no clear way to resolve the sociopolitical issues and at the same time treat the problems that occur in learning to read due to linguistic differences. Much more evidence of the effectiveness of the various approaches needs to be gathered.

There are, however, certain suggestions that can be made for those who cannot wait for this evidence because they must face the situation immediately. An important distinction that needs to be kept clear is that between the goals of teaching standard English and teaching reading. Although a policy decision on the spoken language question may limit the alternatives in terms of reading, the two activities should be separated so that the acquisition of reading skills is a well-defined goal in itself. A first step that can be taken follows the second option discussed above, that of allowing students to read in their own dialect. This can be immediately implemented, provided that the teacher has the information needed to discriminate between reading errors and valid patterns of the students' spoken language. In this way, the task of learning to read will not be confused with language instruction and the mismatch we have spoken of will be somewhat less intense.

Other activities can also be planned to supplement the school reading curriculum. In our discussion of language arts (Section 5.3.3) the community was viewed as a valuable source of a number of possible activities. There are also a variety of applications of these suggestions for teaching reading, following an approach similar to the "language experience" type of program. In addition to having the students recount stories which can then be read back (the most common form "language experience" activities take), tapping the oral traditions of the community can also provide a source of reading materials. The stories that could be gathered by the students would be told in the language of the community and so would be linguistically appropriate as texts for reading in terms of the match between spoken and written language. There would, of course, be additional benefits in terms of preserving the traditions of the area, providing meaningful experiences for the students and generally adding some excitement to the task of developing reading skills. The type of interview used in the present study could be adapted, for example, for use in collecting such materials. A model for this type of activity can be found in the Foxfire collections, compiled by Eliot Wigginton, which have met with great success, both in terms of the learning experiences for the students involved and in its value for the community as a whole. It would appear that the model could be adapted to any grade level and would be extremely useful if implemented in beginning reading. The materials would, in a sense, be designed by the students and the community and so would be linguistically and culturally appropriate. This could be very effective in facilitating the development of reading skills, both for the beginning student and the older student needing some remedial work. It would also, of course, be a useful and interesting activity for more advanced readers.

There are certain other considerations that relate to dialect diversity and reading beyond the specific approaches to teaching reading. One aspect involves the evaluation of reading skills in the form of standardized and individual classroom testing. We saw in the general discussion of testing in Section 5.2 that dialect diversity has potentially a great effect on performance on standardized tests and the implications of this are far-reaching. These comments hold as well for tests of reading since often the knowledge of standard forms of English is implicitly or overtly part of the evaluation. As in Principle 3 stated there (see page 218), the test user must consider carefully what problems the non-mainstream speaker of English might face, in an attempt to identify what parts of the test truly evaluate reading ability and what parts do not.

Another dimension of dialect diversity that should be mentioned here is the cultural and social diversity that generally accompanies it. These factors enter into the consideration of comprehension (and tests of comprehension) as well as in the concern which is often voiced for making materials "relevant". For instance, an urban student might have difficulty with a story that dealt with life on a small farm, even though the reading of the story could be successfully accomplished. In the same way, a student who had always been in a rural environment might find the reading task unduly complicated by subject matter involving street life in a big city. These types of gaps show up often as poor comprehension skills in testing situations. For example, a common type of question in comprehension tests is something like "Why do you think the author wrote this story?" This might well be answered in a way considered incorrect if the values in the cultures of the test designer and the student do not match. These sorts of problems are ones teachers and other test users should be aware of when they choose to use a test, or use its results for some evaluation of a student. Reading tests are particularly susceptible to this difficulty, due to the comprehension component.

There are, of course, many other considerations and suggestions that could be made with respect to dialect diversity and the teaching/learning of reading. This outline of some of the advantages and disadvantages of alternatives to dealing with the situations is intended to be suggestive of ways in which different strategies may be used and what sorts of problems might occur. Since none of the options emerges as the clear solution, no recommendations can be made at this time. However, programs designed with an awareness of the relationship of dialect diversity to reading are needed to minimize the effect of linguistic differences on the task of learning to read for the speaker of a non-mainstream variety.

CHAPTER FIVE

FOOTNOTES

1. For a description of an actual project related to teacher attitudes, see Shuy's "Sociolinguistics and Teacher Attitudes in a Southern School System" (1972).

2. The framework discussed here is essentially that presented in Wolfram (1975), with special adaptation for AE.

3. The prediction of linguistic interference in tests should, of course, be followed up with studies of test responses to observe the actual patterning of interference.

4. A test user is defined here to mean anyone who is involved in choosing a test to be used or who makes decisions based on test scores.

5. In addition to the majority of sentences in this subsection which are related to the recognition of written standard English sentences, there are several sentences related to the spelling of one item (to/too) and several sentences which relate to the recognition of sentences which would violate the grammatical rules of both mainstream and non-mainstream varieties.

PART TWO

CHAPTER SIX

A-PREFIXING

6.0 Introduction

Of the variety of forms which characterizes AE, perhaps the one which holds the most linguistic intrigue is the a- prefix occuring with -ing participial forms.[1] We thus encounter sentences like the following in this variety:

(1) a. ...and John boy, he come a-runnin' out there and got shot. 44:6[2]

b. It was a dreadful sight, fire was a-flamin' everything. 16:(434)

c. He just kept a-beggin' and a-cryin' and a-wantin' to go out. 83:18

While forms such as those given in (1) have been found to occur in a number of varieties of American English, they are apparently most frequent in AE (Atwood 1953:35). Their occurrence in AE thus provides us with a rich data base for describing linguistic aspects of this structural form.

A-prefixing is, of course, a linguistic phenomenon which has solid historical roots in the history of the English language. Krapp is just one of the many writers on the history of the English language who notes the occurrence of this form.

> A very frequent syntactical form of contemporary popular speech is that which puts an a before every present participle, especially after go, as in to go a-fishing, bye baby bunting, daddy's gone a-hunting, etc. In phrases like these, the construction is historical, the a- being a weakened form of the Old English preposition on in unstressed position, and fishing, hunting, etc., being originally verbal nouns which have been assimilated in form and, to a considerable extent, in feeling, to present participles. Starting with these phrases, however, the a- has been prefixed to genuine present participles, after forms of to be and other verbs, with the result that in popular speech almost every word ending in -ing has a sort of prefix, a-.
>
> (Krapp 1925:268)

Most sources consider a-prefixing to be derived historically from prepositions, notably on. Jespersen, for example, notes:

> ...we start from the old phrase he was on hunting, which meant 'he was in the course of hunting, engaged in hunting, busy with hunting'; he was, as it were, in the middle of something, some protracted action or state, denoted by the substantive hunting. Here on became phonetically a, as in other cases, and a was eventually dropped, exactly as in other phrases: burst out on laughing, a-laughing, laughing; fall on thinking, a-thinking, thinking; set the clock on going, a-going, going, etc.
>
> (1933:53)

While the status of a-prefixing as an archaism is relatively secure and its historical source seems to be fairly well documented, its current use in AE and other varieties of English where it is found generally has been overlooked. In most cases, it is simply considered to be a nonsignificant alternant of its non-prefixed counterpart, an older form which has not become socially stigmatized. As we shall see, aspects of a-prefixing are relevant to several different levels of language organization, showing in particular how phonological constraints may interact with syntactic constraints to account for the ultimate realization of this form. The purpose of this discussion, then, is to consider how we may account for the realization of a-prefixing, including both categorical and variable parameters of its occurrence.

In the analysis that follows, we have concentrated our efforts on the tape-recorded samples of the 49 informants from our total sample of over 100 informants who realized some incidence of a-prefixing in their interviews. Over 300 examples of a-prefixing found in this corpus comprise the basis for this discussion. In addition, the corpora of Hackenberg (1972) and Feagin (forthcoming) have been checked as secondary data sources. In most cases, the examples cited here are quite similar to the types of a-prefixing examples found in these other sources, even though their studies were done in different regions of Appalachia. It is assumed that a lack of unity in this phenomenon would have surfaced in this comparison, particularly with respect to Feagin's study, which was conducted in the southern most part of Appalachia extending into Alabama. It would appear, then, that the observations concerning a-prefixing that come from this study have much greater applicability than to the specific counties where the data were collected.

6.1 Syntactic Properties of *a-* Prefixed Forms

The common viewpoint on the syntactic privileges of *a*-prefixed participles unfortunately seems to have been represented by Krapp when he noted that "in popular speech, almost every word ending in *-ing* has a sort of prefix *a-*" (1925:266). Such a broad claim is currently unwarranted, as will become obvious from the examples that we present below, and there is probably good reason to believe that such was never, in fact, the case. There are clear-cut instances where *a-* prefixing is permissible, some where it is clearly ungrammatical, and some which may appear to fall on a continuum between these extremes. What will be presented here is a summary of the grammatical and ungrammatical cases to form the basis for a specification of the syntactic privileges of this form.

To begin with, we must note that the most common cases of *a-* prefixing occur with progressives, including past tense, non-past tense and *be* + *ing* not marked for tense.

(2) a. I knew he was *a-tellin'* the truth but still I was *a-comin'* home. 83:1

b. My cousin had a little brown pony and we was *a-ridin'* it one day. 124:19

c. Well, she's *a-gettin'* the black lung now, ain't she? 83:25

d. ...and he says, 'Who's *a-stompin'* on my bridge?' 16:(610)

e. This man'd catch 'em behind the neck and they'd just be *a-rattlin'*. 28:25

f. He'll forget to spit and he'll cut and it'll just be *a-runnin'*, *a-drippin'* off his chin when he gets to catch them. 146:25

In addition to its common occurrence with progressives in which the auxiliary *be* is overtly realized, *a*-prefixing is also found with those forms which have undergone 'WHIZ' deletion. That is, *a*-Verb*-ing* may occur in embedded sentences which have had the *wh* relative pronoun +*be* removed. We thus get examples such as those found in (3):

(3) a. I had twelve children and I got two dead and ten *a-livin'*. 153:3

b. Well, let's say you had a little headache or something, or maybe a bone *a-hurtin'*, your leg *a-hurtin'*, mother would get you up some kind of sassafras tea. 30:13

A-prefixed forms without an overt form of *be* are most common with verbs of perception, such as *see* and *hear*.

(4) a. ...and I heard something *a-snortin'* coming up the hill and I said 'Aw heck!' 29:17

b. ...and I turned around and I seen that old snake *a-layin'* there all coiled up, his mouth was open like this, getting ready to bite me. 44:22

With respect to the occurrence of *-ing* forms with verbs of perception, however, it is wrong to conclude that all the participial *-ing* forms are the result of WHIZ deletion. There are cases of post-nominal *-ing* forms which must be considered as verb complements rather than reduced relative clauses. Kirsner and Thompson (1974:11) point out that there are two possible readings for sentence (5) which point to the distinction between verb complement or adverbial function on post-nominal *-ing* and WHIZ deletion.

(5) I saw the girls playing handball.

The different readings are brought out by *but* clause continuations.[3]

(6) a. I saw the girls playing handball, but I didn't see them playing tennis. (sensory verb complement)

b. I saw the girls playing handball, but I didn't see those who were playing tennis. (reduced relative clause)

In sentence (6a) we have a description of what the girls were seen doing (the identity of the girls being presupposed) while in (6b) we have a description of which girls were seen (viz. those girls who were playing handball). A close inspection of the context of participial *-ing* with verbs of perception indicates that many of them appear to be adverbial in nature rather than reduced relative clauses. One of the common contexts for *a*-prefixing, then, is the verbal complement of verbs of perception.

In addition to its occurrence on complements of perception verbs, there are cases of *a*-prefixing with other types of adverbial constructions, as indicated by the sentences in (7).

(7) a. ...you was pretty weak by the tenth day, *a-layin'* in there in bed. 37:(177)

b. ...one night my sister, she woke up *a-screamin'* -- crying, hollering, and so we jumped up. 156:(1044)

c. ...say Chuck would come by and want to spend a hour *a-talkin'*, I always figure I'm not too busy to stop. 30:4

d. ...course a lotta times you can't, and grow up *a-huntin'* with them instead of hunting for them. 31:22

The essential adverbial nature of the participial *-ing* forms in (7) is indicated by the fact that they are questioned by *how* or *why*, so that appropriate questions for (7a) and (7b) would be as in (8a) and (8b) respectively.

(8) a. Why were you pretty weak by the tenth day? (From lying in bed.)

b. How did my sister wake up? (She woke up screaming.)

A further environment in which *a*-prefixed forms can be found is that of movement verbs such as *come*, *go*, and *take off*, as illustrated in (9):

(9) a. All of a sudden a bear come *a-runnin'* and it come *a-runnin'* towards him and he shot it between the eyes. 44:18

b. ...and then I took off *a-ridin'* on the minibike. 4:(888)

c. They wasn't in there no more and I went down there *a-huntin'* for em. 44:20

A-prefixing may also occur with verbs of continuing or starting. Most predominantly, this involves the form *keep*, but there are also some instances of forms like *start*, *stay*, *get to* and so forth.

(10) a. He just kep' *a-beggin'*, and *a-cryin'* and *a-wantin'* to go out. 83:18

b. Then send the rope back down, just keep *a-pullin'* it up til we got it built. 124:2

c. You just look at him and he starts *a-bustin'* out laughing at you. 80:(683)

d. ...and we'd get plowed, and we'd get to laughing and *a-gigglin'*. 85:15

All the examples given above represent a-prefixing on the morpheme to which -ing is also attached, but the prefixing may be extended to compound forms as well, thus giving us the following examples:

(11) a. I went a-deer huntin' twice last year. 31:31
b. I told her I was going a-pheasant huntin'. 31:30
c. We was going up there a-squirrel huntin'. 159:(1007)

In the preceding paragraphs, we have presented the main types of syntactic structures in which a-prefixing is found. In order to understand the systematic nature of its syntactic properties, it is also instructive to note the types of structures in which it is not found. For the most part, our presentation of ungrammatical structures with a-prefixing is extracted from those structures which are never found in our own corpus, with confirming evidence from Hackenberg's (1972) and Feagin's (forthcoming) corpora. There is also some informal intuitional evidence from several informants to support these cases.

In the first place, we find that a-prefixing is never found in nominals which occur with determiners or possessive -ing constructions. We therefore do not get sentences such as the following:

(12) a. *He watched their a-shootin'.
b. *He heard every a-shootin'.
c. *He saw the a-shootin'.

The ungrammaticality of these constructions is obviously due to the nominalization of these -ing forms, which is most apparent with a determiner of some type. But it is also true of other nominalized -ing forms as well. The following types of sentences are therefore not found:

(13) a. *A-sailin' is fun.
b. *He likes a-sailin'.

Although these sentences appear to fit the classifical definition of a gerund construction, we have deliberately avoided this classification since the traditional designation would also include as gerunds some of the sentences previously given as acceptable in AE. We shall have more to say about this matter shortly.

Just as we do not get a-prefixing with the nominal constructions given above, we do not find cases of a-prefixing with adjectival -ing, whether they occur in predicate adjective constructions or have undergone modifier preposing. We therefore do not find sentences like the following:

(14) a. *The snake was *a-surprisin'*.[4]
b. *The movie was *a-shockin'*.
c. *The *a-shootin'* hunters didn't hit the bear.
d. *The hunters shot the *a-runnin'* bear.

A further type of syntactic environment in which *a*-prefixed forms are apparently not found involves overtly realized preposition and adverbial *-ing*. Note the ungrammaticality of the following sentences:

(15) a. *He got sick from *a-workin'* so hard.
b. *John hit his dog for *a-breakin'* the dish.
c. *John built a turkey blind before *a-huntin'* turkey.
d. *He nearly died from *a-laughin'* so hard.
e. *He makes money by *a-buildin'* houses.

Although *a*-prefixing cannot follow a preposition as such in the above sentences, it should be noted that it may occur attributively with respect to a prepositional phrase. We therefore do get sentences like the following:

(16) a. No, that's something I hadn't ever got into, with dogs *a-fightin'*. 22:24
b. I know you might have heard of peppermint *a-growin'* along the streams of the water. 157:(506)

The grammaticality of sentences like (16) and the ungrammaticality of those like (17) might, of course, be attributed to the adjective restriction that we illustrated in (14). But a further examination indicates that there is something about realization of a preposition which adds to this prohibition. This becomes more clear when we consider the sentences given in (15) which may occur without the overt realization of a preposition. When the sentences given in (15) occur with the same adverbial function (i.e. manner, reason, etc.) but without the preposition, the *a*-prefixed forms are acceptable, as indicated in (18):[5]

(18) a. He got sick *a-workin'* so hard.
b. He nearly died *a-laughin'* so hard.
c. He makes money *a-buildin'* houses.

We therefore conclude that it is something about the overt appearance of prepositions in these cases which causes these sentences to be unacceptable.

Given the types of constructions in which we find *a*-prefixing and those where we do not find it, we may now ask how we can account for its occurrence. As a first restriction, we shall claim that *a*-prefixing is restricted to verbal and adverbial categories. For progressives, such as those given in (2) and (3), this restriction is obvious, as it is in the case of adverbial participles illustrated in (7). But its occurrence in constructions such as (9) and (10) is in need of some explanation, since these forms have traditionally been considered to be gerunds. The traditional view has often considered the *-ing* suffixed form like *I went fishing* and *He keeps working* to be nominals which functions similarly to the gerund in a sentence such as *I like hunting*. A closer inspection, however, suggests that there are important differences between these types of *-ing* suffixed forms and that the former examples are not gerunds at all.

Let us first look at the *-ing* forms occurring with verbs of movement such as *go*, *come*, and *take off*. Silva (1973:91) has recently pointed out that the *-ing* participial forms with verbs of movement do not function as nouns; instead, they function as adverbs. The syntactic categorization of these forms as adverbs rather than nouns is based on the fact that *-ing* forms with verbs of movement fail to function as nouns insofar as they cannot be questioned by *what* or *which* (19), they cannot be pronominalized with *it*, *that*, or *one* (20), and they cannot be qualified by a nominal modifier (21):

(19)* $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{What}\\ \text{Which}\end{array}\right\}$ (hunting) are you going tomorrow?

(20)* We want to go hunting, but John doesn't want to go $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{it}\\ \text{that}\\ \text{one}\end{array}\right\}$.

(21)* We're going $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{our fishing}\\ \text{some fishing}\\ \text{good fishing}\\ \text{fishing that lasts all day}\end{array}\right\}$.

The non-gerundive function of *-ing* with the movement verb is readily contrasted with *-ing* participles that function as true gerunds, as in the construction *I like fishing*. None of the restrictions cited above are found for these *-ing* participles.

(22) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{What}\\ \text{Which}\end{array}\right\}$ fishing do you like?

(23) We like fishing, but John doesn't like it.

(24) We like $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{our fishing}\\ \text{some fishing}\\ \text{good fishing}\\ \text{fishing that lasts all day}\end{array}\right\}$.

Positive evidence for the adverbial function of *-ing* forms with verbs of movement is provided by the type of forms used in response to the question *where* (25) and in adverbial phrases headed by *from* (26):

(25) Where are you going? I'm going $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{downtown}\\ \text{to the circus}\\ \text{fishing}\\ \text{hunting}\end{array}\right\}$.

(26) She just came from $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{the university}\\ \text{the woods}\\ \text{hunting}\\ \text{fishing}\end{array}\right\}$.

The evidence that *-ing* participles with verbs of movement are adverbs, then, appears to be fairly clear-cut. And, as *a*-prefixing occurs with these *-ing* forms, but not with the ones that appear to be gerunds, this supports the claim that only adverbial and verbal participles are eligible for *a*-prefixing.

Verb forms like *start* and *keep*, particularly the latter, which is very frequent with *a*-prefixing, also appear to be specialized cases where the following *-ing* form cannot be considered a gerund, but must be considered verbal or adverbial in nature. Forms like *keep* + *-ing* participles have sometimes been considered to be part of the so-called 'catenative' verbs, because they indicate relations which are most adequately treated as verb clustering rather than verb + gerund.

The clustering nature of *keep* + *-ing* participle is revealed in questions, where the sequence cannot be broken up as it is with other Verb + *-ing* participles such as *love*. Consider the contrast between (27b) and (28b, c):

(27) a. He loves talking.

b. What does he love?

(28) a. He keeps talking.
b. What does he keep doing?
c. *What does he keep?

Further important differences between constructions like those cited in (27) and (28) are found with respect to noun phrase complementation. Whereas an infinitive complement is an alternate for the gerundive complement of *love* (29), it is clearly not a possibility with *keep* (30):

(29) a. John loves hunting.
b. John loves to hunt.
c. John loves for his wife to hunt.

(30) a. John keeps hunting.
b. *John keeps to hunt.
c. *John keeps for his wife to hunt.

While there are other arguments which could be raised here to support the basic distinction between *keep* + *-ing* participles and other types of Verb + *-ing* participles (e.g. the failure of *keep* + *-ing* participles to take pre-nominal modifiers as in **We keep* $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{our hunting}\\ \text{some fishing}\\ \text{good fishing}\\ \text{fishing that lasts all day}\end{array}\right.\left.\vphantom{\begin{array}{l}a\\a\\a\\a\end{array}}.\right\}$), it is reasonable to conclude that *keep* functions quite differently from the true Verb + gerund participial constructions. There is, in fact, reason to suspect that *keep* here functions as a 'quasi-progressive', due to the semantic compatibility of *keep* and other habitual functions of the progressive.

There are several observations that support the treatment of *keep* as a quasi-progressive. It is noted that *keep* does not take the progressive with a following *-ing* (31), although it does when followed by an adjective (32):

(31) *He is keeping hunting for snakes.

(32) He is keeping quiet at the moment.

There are also specialized contexts in which *be* may be used as the proform for a *keep* + *-ing* participle, while the potential substitutibility of *be* with a *Verb* + gerund participle is clearly unacceptable. This contrast is indicated in the difference between (33) and (34):

(33) Even though I told him not to fish there, he kept fishing at the creek, and he probably still *is*.

(34) *Even though I told him not to fish there, he loved fishing at the creek and he probably still *is*.

Whether or not one prefers to go so far as to consider *keep* a quasi-progressive, the treatment of the following *-ing* form as non-gerundive in nature still seems to be the only reasonable conclusion. The establishment of this following *-ing* participle as adverbial or verbal, then, fits in with our claims concerning the syntactic privileges of *a*-prefixing.

6.1.1 The Underlying Source of *a*-Prefixing

In the preceding paragraphs, we have tried to establish that *a*-prefixing is restricted to those *-ing* participles that are part of the verb or its complement (i.e. the adverb); it does not occur in other types of contexts such as true gerunds. We now are ready to focus more specifically on the restrictions for *a*-prefixing and suggest its underlying source. What we shall claim here is that all *a*-prefixed participial forms are derived from prepositional phrases, and that *a-* itself comes from a preposition. This includes *a*-prefixing on progressives, verbs of movement, and adverbs such as those we cited previously. While this source has been cited as an historical explanation for present-day *a*-prefixing, this analysis can be motivated entirely apart from the consideration of the historical evidence.

The postulation of an adverbial prepositional phrase as the basis for all *a*-prefixed forms necessarily involves interpreting progressives as derived from prepositional phrases, since this is one of the main constructions where *a*-prefixed forms are found. Bolinger (1971a) has provided such an analysis which we can use as a starting point in developing our argument. While we shall not cite all of the different motivations which are included in Bolinger's argument, it may be helpful to summarize some of his main points which are relevant to this discussion.

To begin with, it is observed that the preposition *at* is used when progressive action is nominalized, giving us (35):

(35) He was working an hour ago and I guess he's still *at it*.

Bolinger (1971a:247) further observes that a preposition (usually *at* or *on*) is used in questions answered by a progressive (36):

(36) What are you *at* now? I'm getting these reports ready.

Prepositions are also used in cleaving progressives, giving us sentences like (37):

(37) Is it studying he's *at* or making love?

Action nominalization is also observed which parallels progressive constructions, as seen in (38):

(38) a. She is *at prayer*.
b. She *is praying*.

A number of *-ing* complements also parallel other prepositional complements and are found with the construction *to be busy*.

(39) a. I'm busy *working*.
b. I'm busy *at work*.

Finally, we should cite Bolinger's observation (1971:248), that *where* questions that are normally answered by an adverb of location may also be answered by a progressive.

(40) Where's Joe? He's reading.

On the basis of the type of evidence presented above (and some additional arguments given in Bolinger 1971a, b), it is suggested that the progressive is derived from a locative-type prepositional phrase. Once establishing that progressives are related to locational complements in this way, it is a relatively small step to observe that the underlying prepositional phrase which can be motivated for most varieties of English may simply be realized as *a*-prefixing in AE.

Just as progressives can be shown to be related to prepositional phrases, a quasi-progressive such as *keep* can be shown to have a similar type of relationship. While there is not complete isomorphy in the type of constructions that reveal the locational nature of *be* + *ing* progressives and a quasi-progressive like *keep*, a number of the same relationships do exist. For example, we observe that action pronominalization reveals a preposition for *keep*, just as it does for the progressives (cf. (35)).

(41) He just kept fishing at the same spot and I betcha he's still *at it*.

Similarly, we find that cleaving with *keep* + *ing* participle surfaces a preposition.

(42) Is it studying he keeps *at*, or making love?

And we further find that action nominalization requires a preposition in its parallel form for *keep*, just as it did for "true progressives".

(43) a. They kept at their quarreling all day.

b. They kept quarreling all day.

(44) a. They keep busy working.

b. They keep busy at work.

We likewise observe that there are constructions used with verbs of movement which also suggest a relationship between certain prepositional phrases and the verbs of movement +ing.[6] While action nominalization does not seem quite as natural for go+ing participle, it still seems acceptable in some contexts.

(45) We went fishing this morning and he's probably still at it.

Action nominals clearly parallel verbs of movement and their alternant participial forms.

(46) a. He went on a hike.

b. He went hiking.

The locational nature of the construction is also revealed by the types of questions appropriate for these constructions (cf. sentence (25) discussed earlier as well as (47)):

(47) Where's John (at)? He went fishing.

Once we have demonstrated the relationship between locational adverbial phrases and progressives, keep, and movement verbs such as we have above, it is a reasonable step (to be discussed in further detail in Section 2) to conclude that these prepositional phrases serve as the basis for deriving a-prefixing from a preposition.

The constructions that we previously labeled adverbials (e.g. 7a-d) simply appear to be more transparent cases of prepositional phrases than the be+ing progressives, keep+ing, or movement verbs +ing discussed above. With the traditionally labeled adverbials, question forms (48) and cleaving (49) also surface a preposition.

(48) What did he die from? Working so hard.

(49) What he died from was working so hard.

The transparency is found in the cases where an alternant form of the construction can occur with the prepositional phrase overtly realized (50 a, b; 51a, b). In these cases, we see that the AE a-prefixed form alternates with these constructions (50c, 51c).

(50) a. He died working so hard.

b. He died from working so hard.

c. He died a-workin' so hard.

(51) a. You was pretty weak by the tenth day layin' there.

b. You was pretty weak by the tenth day from laying there.

c. You was pretty weak by the tenth day a-layin' there.

Additional evidence can also be cited to support the relationships between these prepositional phrases and a-prefixed forms. For one, we note that there is a pattern of overt prepositional retention in AE which is somewhat broader than it apparently is in some other varieties of English.[7] There are, for example, occasional cases of on or at prepositions that are retained in constructions such as those given in (52).

(52) a. How do you avoid (drugs) if you were a parent at rearin' a child in an environment that had a lot of that sort of thing? Fieldworker 61:20

b. I'm trying to get him back on huntin' again. 159:(668)

c. ...'cause there's some things that, just really no use on fussin' about. 148:7

This broader range of alternate realization for -ing participles and prepositions +ing participle in AE is simply an extended version of the argument given above concerning the overt realization of prepositions in alternant forms.[8]

Finally, we should mention the constraint that prohibits a-prefixing from co-occurring with an overtly realized preposition as its head in a prepositional phrase, as previously noted in (15). This type of restriction is readily understood if a-prefixing is originally derived from a preposition and only one preposition may head a prepositional phrase.[9] That is, there is a prohibition on preposition clustering with respect to locational prepositions.

In the preceding paragraphs, we have cited several different overt prepositions that are realized as the alternant of a-prefixed forms. At this point, we shall not concern ourselves with this divergence, but will return to the overt realization of what we consider to be the underlying locational preposition when we discuss the semantics of a-prefixing. It is sufficient here to establish the need for positing a preposition as the source from which a-prefixing is ultimately derived.

6.1.2 Variability and Grammatical Category

The previous discussion has focused on the syntactic contexts in which a-prefixing is permissible, suggesting a source for its derivation. It is important, however, to note that a-prefixing is a variable phenomenon; that is, all the forms eligible for a-prefixing do not necessarily realize it in every instance. We now turn to the variable parameter of a-prefixing in order to determine the extent of its usage and possible grammatical constraints that may favor or inhibit its realization. In this aspect of our study, we follow other studies of structured variability in language (e.g. Labov 1969; Fasold 1972; Wolfram 1974a, 1974b).

In order to look at possible grammatical constraints on variability, we have tabulated the actual realization of a-prefixing in terms of the potential cases where it might have occurred, following the analysis presented in Section 6.1 as a basis for determining what constitutes a potential environment for a-prefixing. In line with the different types of grammatical contexts where a-prefixing might occur, we have broken down our count in terms of four different categories which are related to the surface grammatical constructions: (1) be + ing progressives, including those that have undergone WHIZ deletion, (2) the quasi-progressive keep + ing, (3) movement verbs + ing participle complements, (4) adverbial phrases with alternate surface realizations of a preposition + ing participle. Tabulations in terms of these four categories are given in Table 36. The figures in Table 36 are based on the 13 informants in our corpus who reveal the most frequent instances of a-prefixing so that we might have adequate numbers of a-prefixed items for investigating the possible variable constraints. The table is arranged in terms of the rank frequency of a-prefixed forms.

Several observations can be made on the basis of Table 36. To begin with, we note that the frequency levels of a-prefixing are below 50 per cent of all cases in which it might have been realized, the range typically falling between 10 and 40 per cent. In terms of the grammatical constructions we have isolated as possible constraints, it is instructive to note that the verbs of movement and the quasi-progressive keep are actually realized at higher frequency levels than either the progressive be + ing or the surface adverbial phrases. While there are certainly more actual instances of a-prefixing with be + ing progressives vis-a-vis the other

Tape No.	Age/Sex	Progressives		Keep		Movement Verbs		Adverb		Total	
31	67 / M	13/28	53.6	0/2	0.0	2/3	66.7	2/7	28.6	17/40	42.5
83	93 / F	16/37	43.2	3/6	50.0	0/1	0.0	0/2	0.0	19/46	41.3
85	78 / F	18/57	31.6	4/4	100.0	-/-	--	3/12	25.0	25/73	34.2
153	83 / F	9/35	25.7	0/1	0.0	2/2	100.0	1/4	25.0	12/42	28.6
22	60 / M	18/64	28.1	-/-	--	0/4	0.0	3/11	27.3	21/79	26.6
152	64 / F	11/43	25.6	1/4	25.0	1/1	100.0	1/10	10.0	14/58	24.1
157	52 / F	14/52	26.9	-/-	--	0/3	0.0	1/8	12.5	15/63	23.8
30	50 / M	7/52	13.5	1/5	20.0	2/5	40.0	4/16	25.0	14/78	17.9
44	14 / M	4/41	9.7	1/2	50.0	4/7	57.1	0/3	0.0	9/53	17.0
124	11 / M	1/45	2.2	1/2	50.0	3/16	50.0	0/10	0.0	10/73	13.7
146	52 / M	9/59	15.3	-/-	--	0/10	0.0	0/9	0.0	9/78	11.5
2	13 / M	3/54	5.6	5/13	38.5	1/12	8.3	0/5	0.0	9/84	10.7
29	33 / F	7/79	8.9	-/-	--	1/10	10.0	1/4	25.0	9/93	9.7
TOTALS:		130/646	20.1	16/39	41.0	21/74	28.4	16/101	15.8	183/860	21.3

Table 36. A-Prefixing; by Several Surface Categories

categories, it is important to note that this high number is due to the fact that many more potential occurrences of a-prefixing occur for be + ing progressives.

The observation that be + ing progressives are realized at lower relative frequency levels than keep + ing or movement verbs + ing is in conflict with some recent observations concerning a-prefixing which imply that be + ing is a constraint favoring the incidence of a-prefixing over keep + ing. Hackenberg, for example, comes to this conclusion, based on two different types of data. First of all, he (Hackenberg 1972:123) observes that there are only three instances of a-prefixing with keep out of his total of 51 instances. Given the vast proportional differences in the potential occurrences of these two constructions, it is not surprising that it should actually occur that rarely. In the corpus of examples we have examined here, there are almost 17 times as many potential occurrences of be + ing eligible for a-prefixing as there are cases of keep + ing. The low frequency levels of a-prefixing with keep turn out to be an artifact of disproportionate potential instances rather than a real constraint inhibiting a-prefixing. On this point, Hackenberg's conclusion suffers from the fact that he did not look at potential and actual cases of a-prefixing.

Hackenberg also used results from a forced choice test as a basis for suggesting that be + ing was favored over keep + ing. Informants were simply asked to select which of the forms was preferred, given sentence pairs containing keep + ing and be + ing. While there was some discrepancy, Hackenberg suggests that the results indicate a preference for be + ing over keep + ing. It is important to note, however, that Hackenberg makes no mention of whether the subjects for this forced choice test were actual users of a-prefixing, and his own corpus for descriptive analysis indicates a limited extent of a-prefixing. (Only 12 out of 39 speakers indicated an incidence of a-prefixing.) Hackenberg's conclusion must therefore be viewed with considerable suspicion.[10] One would expect that informants who do not typically use a-prefixing would favor forms with higher proportional realizations. That is, they would not be expected to show sensitivity to linguistic constraints in terms of realized cases in relation to potential instances.

It is of interest to observe in Table 36 that *a*-prefixing is apparently favored in the intermediate constructions in the continuum which ranges from surface adverbs to *be* + *ing* progressives. That is, the quasi-progressive *keep* + *ing* and movement verb + complement *-ing* are favored over "true progressives" and adverbial phrases. It may well be that the indeterminacy of the categories is compensated for by favoring the overt specification of temporal locative marker, but this must be viewed as a speculation rather than conclusion in the absence of additional evidence. We may, however, cautiously conclude that these intermediate constructions favor the retention of *a*-prefixing (without distinguishing the quasi-progressive *keep* from movement verbs in terms of their constraining effect). Our caution is due to the low number of potential cases for some of the categories and some seeming inconsistencies as speakers are compared with each other.

While our concern here is primarily with the linguistic aspects of *a*-prefixing, it may be noted that Table 36 presents clear-cut support for the contention that *a*-prefixing is a phenomenon which is dying out rather rapidly in Appalachia. It is noteworthy that the eight speakers with the highest relative frequency levels for *a*-prefixing are all 50 years of age or older. All speakers who reveal *a*-prefixing above the 20 per cent level of incidence in terms of its potential realization are in this category.

6.2 Phonological Constraints on *a*-Prefixing

In the previous section, we attempted to examine the syntactic privileges of *a*-prefixing. We have also suggested that all *a*-prefixed forms are ultimately derived from an underlying preposition. In order to understand the full range of *a*-prefixing, however, we must now consider certain aspects of phonology which may strongly affect its realization.

If we conclude that *a*-prefixing is ultimately derived from an underlying preposition, as we have done above, then there is at least one rule which operates on prepositions to reduce them to *a*- ([ə]). If we maintain that a temporal locative such as *ON* underlies all *a*-prefixing, we need a rule which will reduce it in unstressed environments. This may be represented approximately as:

(53) $\text{ON} \rightarrow (\text{ə}) \;/\; \#\# \underset{[-\text{stress}]}{\underline{\qquad\qquad}} \#\# \; \text{Verb} + \underline{\text{ing}}$

Although we have not specified it here, a more detailed version of this rule would be needed to specify exactly where such a process is obligatory (e.g. with surface progressives) and where it may be optional (e.g. with surface adverbs). Further detail would also make preposition reduction a more general process which can affect other unstressed *VC* prepositions with non-*ing* forms in the casual speech of most English speakers (e.g. *of* as in *I'm tired a (of) him*).

If we view this resultant *a*- form as having a different relationship to the following Verb + *ing* form than the original preposition, we also need a rule that changes the boundary status. We may, for example, change the boundary status following *ON* from that of an external word boundary to an internal word boundary (i.e. ## → # / ə ____ Verb + *ing*). The above operation(s) is preliminary to a variable phonological rule of schwa deletion that eliminates the phonological vestige of the underlying preposition completely.

In considering the rule which eliminates the initial prefix *a*-, it is important to observe several different constraints on its operation. To begin with, we must notice two types of phonological environments where *a*-prefix deletion is categorical, or at least semi-categorical. First, we observe that *a*-prefixing is never observed to be realized when the following morpheme begins with a vowel. That is, we have no instances in our corpus such as the following:

(54) a. *John was *a-eatin'* his food.

b. *He kept *a-askin'* him the question.

On the basis of our previous discussion of syntactic privileges for *a*-prefixing, there is no reason why sentences such as (54) should not be permissible unless we consider the canonical shape of the verb. While there are considerably fewer cases in English of verbs beginning with vowels than consonants, there still appear to be a sufficient number for some *a*-prefixing to be realized. We thus consider vowel-initial forms to have categorical deletion of the *a*-prefixed form where the syntactic considerations have permitted these forms to occur.[11] While there are no examples of *a*-prefixing before *-ing* forms beginning with a vowel, it is interesting to note the following example from our corpus:

(55) And the big Daddy Bear says, '*Who's a-been eatin' my porridge*?' 16:737

In this example, the potential a-prefixed form is avoided by moving it to the preceding auxiliary. While we cannot be certain here whether this change is due to a performance strategy or is a regular permutation due to the vowel-initial verb, it points to the syntactic plausibility of a-prefixing on vowel initial verbs which is blocked phonologically.

Another type of phonological restriction on a-prefixing involves the realization of a- on forms where the initial syllable of the form is not stressed. If the initial syllable of verb base is stressed, then a-prefixing may be variably realized, as in the following:

(56) a. She was just standing quietly a-hollerin'. 28:26
b. ...so he kept a-follerin' me around for a week. 77:10

Although a-prefixing can occur on such forms when the initial syllable is stressed, we have no instances in which they occur when the initial syllable is not stressed. That is, we do not get examples such as those in (57):

(57) a. *He was a-discoverin' a bear in the woods.
b. *He was a-manipulatin' things.
c. *He was a-retirin' to his cage.

The absence of such items does not appear to be accidental; it seems to be an environment where deletion of the initial unstressed a- of the item simply takes place categorically.[12]

In addition to the categorical phonological restrictions cited above, there are several variable constraints which can be seen to affect the deletion of the a-prefix. One of the factors increasing the deletion of a- is a preceding vowel. If the word preceding an a-prefixed form ends in a vowel, the deletion of a- is favored. This is demonstrated in Table 37, where a preceding vowel is differentiated from a preceding consonant. Figures are given for the thirteen informants that were used in Table 36.

The pattern seen in Table 37 appears to be fairly regular, although there are two individual exceptions (Informants 85 and 22) to the pattern that might be attributed to the low potential numbers of examples found when a potential a-prefixed form follows a vowel. This deletion appears to be natural in terms of the nonpreference for syllables beginning with a vowel following a syllable that ends in one.

At this point, it is instructive to see how unstressed initial [ə] deletion in a-prefixing relates to a more general process in which other

Informant Tape No.	C##___ No. D/T	C##___ %D	V##___ No. D/T	V##___ %D	Total %	
31	23/40	57.5	-/-	--	23/40	57.5
83	21/40	52.5	6/6	100.0	27/46	58.7
85	45/64	61.3	3/9	33.3	48/73	65.8
153	28/40	70.0	2/2	100.0	30/42	71.4
22	56/75	74.7	2/4	50.0	58/79	73.4
152	44/58	75.9	-/-	--	44/58	75.9
157	44/59	74.6	4/4	100.0	48/63	76.2
30	53/67	79.1	11/11	100.0	64/78	82.1
44	40/49	81.6	4/4	100.0	44/53	83.0
124	62/72	86.2	1/1	100.0	63/73	86.3
146	54/62	87.1	15/16	93.7	69/78	88.5
2	69/78	88.8	6/6	100.0	75/84	89.3
29	76/85	89.4	8/8	100.0	84/93	90.3
TOTALS:	615/789	77.9	62/71	87.3	677/860	78.7

Table 37. Unstressed Initial Syllable Deletion in a-Prefixed Forms

unstressed initial syllables are deleted. It is a well-known fact that many varieties of English can delete the initial syllable of a polysyllabic word when it is unstressed (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:147). This process affects all varieties of English to some extent, although the class of items affected in non-mainstream varieties is somewhat more extensive than their mainstream counterparts (e.g. mainstream varieties may reveal this process in items like _'cause_, _'round_, _'cept_, whereas some non-mainstream varieties would reveal it additionally in items like _'rithmetic_, _'member_, and _'lectricity_).

To determine the relationship between the form being discussed here and the more general deletion process, it is instructive to examine the deletion of unstressed initial syllables in non-_a_-prefixed forms. In Table 38, we have tabulated the extent of deletion for unstressed initial syllables in non-_a_-prefixed forms for the same 13 speakers that were used in Tables 36 and 37. Syllables are differentiated according to two factors. First they are distinguished on the basis of syllable type; namely initial V syllables as opposed to CV syllables. Second, they are differentiated according to preceding environment; namely a preceding word ending in a vowel as opposed to a consonant. This distinction matches the distinction made for the deletion of _a_-prefixed forms. Whereas Tables 36 and 37 were arranged according to rank frequency, Table 38 is arranged following the rank frequency of the previous two tables rather than in terms of its own rank frequency, although the rank frequency is given as a part of the table. This arrangement will be useful in comparing Table 37 and 38.

There are several important observations that must be made on the basis of Table 38. To begin with, we note that the effect of a preceding vowel favoring deletion is very regular, especially with respect to an initial _V_ syllable. In fact, there are no exceptions to this pattern among our 13 speakers. We note that there is a general constraint where a preceding vowel favors the deletion of all unstressed initial syllables. It therefore seems reasonable to consider the deletion of the prefix [ə] to be part of this general process.

It is also of considerable interest to compare the figures of deletion in Table 38 with the figures of Table 37 to see how the more general process of initial syllable deletion relates to _a_-prefixed forms. While

Informant	Initial V						Initial CV						Total %		Rank Freq
	C##___		V##___		Total		C##___		V##___		Total				
Tape No.	# D/T	%	# D/T	%	Total	%	# D/T	%	# D/T	%	Total	%			
31	6/36	16.7	4/13	30.8	10/49	20.4	2/6	33.3	2/6	33.3	4/12	33.3	14/61	22.9	1
83	6/21	28.6	4/5	80.0	10/26	38.5	0/6	0.0	0/3	0.0	0/9	0.0	10/35	28.6	3
85	6/17	35.3	8/14	57.1	14/31	45.2	5/18	27.8	0/2	0.0	5/20	25.0	19/51	37.3	6
153	14/37	37.8	10/13	76.9	24/50	48.0	3/10	30.0	1/1	100.0	4/11	36.4	28/61	45.9	10
22	17/48	36.4	8/11	72.7	25/59	42.2	6/13	46.1	3/5	60.0	9/18	50.0	34/77	44.2	9
152	11/44	25.0	5/8	62.5	16/52	30.8	2/15	6.7	1/3	33.3	3/18	16.7	19/70	27.1	2
157	9/33	27.3	8/15	53.3	17/48	35.4	0/14	0.0	3/8	37.5	3/22	13.6	20/70	28.6	31
30	7/27	25.9	8/10	80.0	15/37	40.5	2/21	9.5	3/10	30.0	5/31	16.1	20/68	29.4	5
44	12/25	48.0	5/5	100.0	17/30	56.7	9/16	56.3	2/2	100.0	11/18	61.1	28/48	58.3	13
124	11/24	45.8	6/6	100.0	17/30	56.7	3/6	50.0	-/-	--	3/6	50.0	20/36	55.6	11
146	14/35	40.0	5/7	71.4	19/42	45.2	3/12	25.0	0/2	0.0	3/14	21.4	22/56	39.3	7
2	15/31	48.4	3/6	50.0	18/37	48.6	8/11	72.7	3/4	75.0	11/15	73.3	29/52	55.7	12
21	23/51	45.1	6/12	50.0	29/63	46.0	5/20	25.0	1/3	33.3	6/23	26.0	35/86	40.7	8
TOTALS:	151/429	35.2	80/125	64.0	231/554	41.7	48/168	28.6	19/49	38.8	67/217	30.9	298/771	38.7	

Table 38. Unstressed Initial Syllable Deletion in Non a-Prefixed Forms

the rank frequency of deletion for non-a-prefixed forms and a-prefixed forms is by no means isomorphic, a general pattern does emerge in which the lower frequencies of non-a-prefix initial-syllable deletion tends to correlate with the lower frequencies of a-prefix deletion and the higher frequencies of a-prefix deletion correlate with the higher frequencies of non-a-prefix deletion. For example, 6 of the first 8 informants with the lowest frequency for general initial-syllable deletion are also among the lowest 8 in terms of the frequency levels of deletion with respect to a-prefixing. And the two speakers who show considerably less a-prefixing deletion rank among the 3 speakers with the lowest frequency of general unstressed initial syllable deletion as well. These observations are additional evidence for considering a-prefixing deletion to be part of the more general unstressed initial syllable deletion process. Speakers who delete a-prefixed forms the least will also be least likely to delete other unstressed initial syllables.[13]

At this point, we can summarize the various constraints on the deletion of unstressed initial syllables, following the conventions established for incorporating variable constraints set forth in previous studies of structured variability (cf. Labov 1969; Fasold 1972; Wolfram 1974a; Wolfram and Fasold 1974). Capital Greek letters are assigned in order of rank to indicate the ranking of constraints on the operation of the rule.

(58)

$$\Delta\sim[+\text{cons}]\begin{bmatrix}+\text{syll}\\-\text{cons}\end{bmatrix}\rightarrow(\emptyset)/B\begin{bmatrix}+\text{syll}\\-\text{cons}\end{bmatrix}\ \#\#\ \underset{[-\text{stress}]}{\underline{\qquad\qquad}}\ A\begin{bmatrix}\text{Verb} + \underline{\text{ing}}\\ \Gamma\sim\begin{bmatrix}-\text{PROG}\\-\text{ADV}\end{bmatrix}\end{bmatrix}$$

$$*[+\text{syll}]$$

$$C_0\ *[-\text{stress}]$$

In (58) the asterisk (*) indicates that the constraint is categorical (i.e. a 'knockout constraint'); in this case, the deletion rule must take place when a syllable is followed by a vowel or an unstressed syllable. The major variable constraints on deletion are the a-prefixed form (first order constraint) and the preceding word ending in a vowel (second order constraint). Lower order constraints are an unstressed syllable beginning with a vowel as opposed to a consonant (i.e. V as opposed to CV syllables) and the surface grammatical category of the quasi-progressives (indicated here formally as $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{PROG}\\-\text{ADV}\end{bmatrix}$).

Support for the ranking of constraints as we have done in (58) comes from an application of the mathematical model for computing probabilities for variable constraints set forth in Cedergren and Sankoff (1974).[14] In Table 39, we present the probabilities assoicated with each constraint for the multiplicative, non-application probabilities model presented by Cedergren and Sankoff as calculated by the computer program they developed (1974:337). The formula for computing probabilities associated with an entire environment from those of the individual constraints for this model is:

(59) $(1-\underline{p}) = (1-\underline{p}_0) \times (1-\underline{p}_i) \times (1-\underline{p}_j) \times \ldots$

The symbol $(1-p)$ is the probability that the rule does not apply in the environment, p_o is the input probability, and p_i, p_j, etc., are the probabilities for each of the constraints in the environment.

In Table 40, we present the hierarchy of environment probabilities based on feature weightings from Cedergren and Sankoff's non-applications model, with an adaptation from Griffin (1974:4-6) which allows us to hierarchize the features in a way that is comparable to 'classical' variable rule formulations as in Labov (1969) (i.e. it allows us to look at necessary cross-products to establish geometric ordering of constraints). Table 40 does indicate that the lower order constraints (viz. the different categories of Verb + ing) may be more finely ordered than we have formulated in rule (58), but this needs more investigation concerning the linguistic categorization of these constructions to take a strong position concerning these constraints. We conclude that a variable phonological rule with several different types of constraints on its structured variability most adequately accounts for the deletion of the a-prefix. There is undoubtedly a parallel process to the one we have formulated for AE which ultimately led to the complete deletion of this form in some varieties of English.

6.2.1 A Special Alliterative Constraint

In the previous section, we have examined several different types of constraints on the phonological rule that deletes a-prefixed forms as a part of the general unstressed initial-syllable deletion process. Our discussion of phonological aspects of a-prefixing, however, would not be complete without mentioning an apparent constraint which disfavors the input probability p_o = .265

Grammatical Category	-ING				NON-ING
	ADV	PROG	MOV	KEEP	
Effect	.778	.720	.553	.442	.000

Syllable Type	NON-ING		-ING
	V	CV	
Effect	.130	.000	.000

Preceding Environment	V##___	C##___
Effect	.350	.000

Table 39. Non-Application Probabilities, Multiplicative Model (Cedergren and Sankoff 1974)

Sting			Non-Application Probability
+ING	V##___	+ ADV	.896
+ING	V##___	+ PROG	.869
+ING	C##___	+ ADV	.837
+ING	C##___	+ PROG	.795
+ING	V##___	+ MOV	.790
+ING	V##___	+ KEEP	.738
+ING	C##___	+ MOV	.671
+ING	C##___	+ KEEP	.590
-ING	V##___	V	.591
-ING	V##___	CV	.530
-ING	C##___	V	.361
-ING	C##___	CV	.265

Table 40. Hierarchy of String Probabilities Based on Feature Weightings from Non-Applications Model

deletion of a-prefixed forms. This is what we may call the 'coordination constraint'. It is observed that coordinate participial constructions separated by a simple coordinate such as and or or show a strong tendency to retain a-prefixing on both -ing forms in the construction. We thus get constructions such as (60):

(60) a. ...they'll be all bushed up a-struttin' and a-draggin'. 146:17

b. He just kept a-beggin' and a-cryin' and a-wantin' to go out. 83:18

c. ...just keep a-rockin' and a-rollin' rock the car and you finally can rock you a way to get out. 24:(218)

We have only 16 potential instances of coordination where an a-prefixed form is found, but 12 of these have a-prefixing on both -ing forms in the coordination.[15] One way of explaining this would be to observe that some degree of code-specificity can be found with respect to a-prefixing (cf. Feagin forthcoming) and that code-switching would not typically be expected to occur between close coordinate constructions of this type. It may also be suggested, however, that we have here a type of alliterative affect, in which we have an intervening syllable of the conjunction between the repetition of the a-. Certain literary writers have been known to use a-prefixing as an alliterative device in their dialect representations (McKay 1973:210). Additional evidence may come from the fact that a-prefixed forms, if they are going to occur on one of the forms of a coordinate, will tend to occur on the second (and successive -ing forms in the series) rather than simply the first. That is, we are more likely to get forms like:

(61) I heard her barking, and a-barkin' and a-barkin'. 22:26

than:

(62) ?I heared her a-barkin' and barking and barking.

While we do not have sufficient examples to formally propose this apparent preference as a constraint, informal reactions of speakers from a-prefixing areas tend to support the claim that forms such as (60) are preferred over (61) and (61) over (62). The upshot of this preference is, of course, that AE speakers do show rhythm in their use of a-prefixed forms.

6.3 Semantic Aspects of a-Prefixing

While the syntactic and phonological considerations discussed in the previous sections have been virtually ignored in recent descriptions of a-prefixing, the few recent attempts to describe this phenomenon have focused on its semantic properties. Treatments of a-prefixing by Stewart (1967), Hackenberg (1972) and Feagin (forthcoming) have all focused on the potential semantic distinctiveness of a-prefixing as part of the verbal system of English. Because of the attention that a-prefixing has been given in this regard, our own considerations of its semantic properties can be interwoven with the discussion of the recent proposals that have been offered.

Stewart (1967) initially suggested that a-prefixing involves an aspectual relationship which is related to indefiniteness and/or remoteness of the verbal activity of the a-prefixing forms. He observes:

> The prefix shows that the action of the verb is indefinite in space and time while its absence implies that the action is immediate in space or time. Thus, he's a-workin' in Mountain Speech means either that the subject has a steady job, or he is away (out of sight, for example) working somewhere. On the other hand, he's workin' in Mountain Speech means that the subject is doing a specific task, close by. A similar (though not identical) grammatical distinction is indicated in Negro Dialect by the verbal auxiliary be.[16]
>
> (1967:10)

Stewart gives no formal motivation for his conclusion, but does qualify his interpretation by noting that it is intended only to be approximative. There are, however, fairly clear-cut counterexamples that suggest that even an approximative version of Stewart's proposal cannot be justified. The following counterexamples to Stewart's claim, which are not atypical, cause us to question the interpretation that restricts a-prefixing to indefiniteness and/or remoteness.

(63) a. I's a-washin' one day and to go under the door I had to go under that spider. 28:21

b. I's a-cannin' chicken one time... 156:(229)

c. ...all of a sudden, a bear come a-runnin' towards him and he shot it between the eyes. 44:18

d. Who's a-stompin' on my bridge...and the second one come by and says, 'Who's a-stompin' on my bridge?' 16:(610)

e. Count to about 10 or 15 so we can see if this machine's a-workin'. Fieldworker 13:1

In cases such as (63a-c), adverbial modifiers such as one day, one time, and all of a sudden refer to a particular activity in terms of space and/or time. Each relates an incident in which the speaker is located at a specific time or place, such as the location of the speaker in a particular room engaged in a specific activity (63a). Even more specific is the sentence used by one of our indigenous fieldworkers (an authentic a-prefixing speaker) in (63e). The directions given in (63e) refer to the tape recorder located at the point of the interview at that particular time. The example of (63d) comes from a recounting of the story of 'Billy Goat Gruff' where a goat stomps immediately overhead on the bridge. Examples such as these are not difficult to find, and Feagin (forthcoming) also gives a number of examples which could not be accounted for in Stewart's proposal.

It must thus be concluded that Stewart's proposal concerning the semantic distinctiveness of a-prefixing simply cannot be justified. This conclusion should not be interpreted to mean that a-prefixing cannot occur in indefinite and/or remote contexts. It can occur in such contexts but is in no way restricted to them. There is actually a fairly wide range of temporal and aspectual contexts in which a-prefixing can be found. We already mentioned the past and non-past contexts of a-prefixing (cf. sentences (2a-d)) and we showed in (63) that it can be found in single occurrence events. We find further that it can be found in regularly occurring activities, whether they involve an activity which occurs at intermittent periods of time (64) or an activity of continuing duration (65):

(64) a. They always told me when I was a-drivin' to always watch the other feller and not myself. 83:25

b. This man said. 'We're gonna have to try to kill the ghost one way or another'. Well now, it keeps a-comin' back. 77:2

c. He said, 'Now Sherry, stay out of the refrigerator if you want to go on a diet'. Sherry wouldn't, she kept a-gettin' in the refrigerator. 77:19

(65) a. Every Sunday morning he used to, whenever Earl was a-livin', they'd always go somewhere every Sunday. 83:3

b. Well, it brings back memory to me, when I was a child a-growin' up, just about the same way that they played. 157:(108)

c. I had twelve children and I got two dead and ten a-livin'. 153:3

The breadth of semantic contexts in which a-prefixing can be found is indicated by its co-occurrence with various types of time adverbs. Feagin (forthcoming), utilizing Crystal's (1966) taxonomy of time adverbs, shows the wide range of temporal and aspectual contexts in which a-prefixing can occur. An examination of co-occurring time adverbs for the data in this corpus indicates a similar pattern. Perhaps more important is the fact that there appears to be no systematic formal restriction in terms of the categories of time adverbs found in Crystal. This is quite unlike the pattern found for a form such as distributive be in Vernacular Black English, where its apparent restriction in terms of co-occurring time adverbs is an essential motivation in arguing for its semantic distinctiveness (cf. Fasold 1969).

Hackenberg (1972), like Stewart, views a-prefixing to represent a semantic aspect different from non-a-prefixed forms ('the addition of the prefix seems to be a syntactic manifestation of semantic conditioning' (Hackenberg 1972:116)), although his argument takes a somewhat different form. Hackenberg starts by accepting an analysis of English progressives which delimits them into three types: (1) continuous aspect, in which an activity is currently viewed in progress (e.g. They're playing bridge right now), (2) intermittent aspect, in which an activity is viewed as recurring or habitual (e.g. They're playing bridge this year), and (3) planned aspect, in which the progressive expresses an activity to take place in the future (e.g. Tomorrow they're playing cards). In terms of these different aspects of progressive, Hackenberg then observes that a-prefixing tends to occur most frequently with continuous aspect and least frequently with planned aspect. The preference for a-prefixing with continuous aspect is further confirmed by a preference test Hackenberg administered to Nicholas County residents (cf. footnote 10, page 275). In his test, subjects were given sentence pairs contrasting the various combinations of progressive aspect with a-prefixing. For example, subjects were asked to express a preference between sentences considered to be reflective of *intermittent* aspect (e.g. *He's been a-jumpin' from one job to another for years*) vis-à-vis *continuous* aspect (e.g. *I see him a-jumpin' the fence right now*). Given such choices subjects tended to show a preference for *a*-prefixing with *intermittent* aspect over *continuous* and *planned* aspect. On the basis of these data, Hackenberg then concludes that *a*-prefixing is systematically favored with *intermittent* aspect. A variable rule inserting the *a*-prefix is then written in which *a*-prefixing is shown to be favored by this semantic aspect.[17]

If we assume the validity of distinctions such as *planned*, *intermittent*, and *continuous* aspect for progressives, we must ask if the preference for *intermittency* is a unique function of *a*-prefixing. In other words, is this preference a function of the category progressive with or without *a*-prefixing or is this a preference which uniquely correlates with *a*-prefixing? From all available evidence, the preference for *intermittency* appears to be a function of the category progressive and is not unique to *a*-prefixing at all. One argument for this conclusion comes from studies of the progressive which show that *intermittent* aspect is more common to progressives than *continuous* and *planned* aspect. For example, Sag (1973) shows that there is a progressive squish, in which *habitual* aspect (roughly equivalent to Hackenberg's *intermittent*) is more inherent to the category progressive than *process* (roughly equivalent to Hackenberg's *continuous* activity), and *futurate* (roughly equivalent to Hackenberg's *planned* activity). While we shall not detail Sag's formal arguments here, it is instructive to note his conclusion:

> I know of no verbs, however, which occur only in the FUTURATE, only in the PROCESS, only in the FUTURATE and HABITUAL, or only in the FUTURATE and the PROCESS. Consequently, if we represent graphically the observation..., we see that it is possible to formulate the implicational hierarchy given in (21):

(21) FUTURATE PROGRESSIVE ⊃ PROCESS PROGRESSIVE ⊃ HABITUAL PROGRESSIVE

(Sag 1973:86-87)

Sag's conclusions clearly match the preference that Hackenberg found for progressives with *a*-prefixing. This type of evidence suggests that the observed preference for *habitual* and *intermittent* activity is related to the category progressive and is not unique to *a*-prefixing at all.

In order to confirm the preferences shown in Hackenberg's test as a function of progressivity rather than a-prefixing as such, Hackenberg's preference test was replicated in this study with two major changes (cf. Hackenberg 1972:358-369). One change involved the items in the test and another the subjects to which it was administered. Instead of giving Hackenberg's test with the a-prefixed forms, identical sentences were given without the a-prefixing. Thus, for example, instead of Hackenberg's original preference choice such as (66), the item was given in its non-a-prefixed form as in (67):

(66) a. I see him a-jumpin' the fence right now.
b. He's been a-jumping from one job to another for years.
(67) a. I see him jumping the fence right now.
b. He's been jumping from one job to another for years.

The test was given to university students in Washington, D. C. who were not a-prefixing speakers. Of the 19 items found in Hackenberg's study, 15 of them showed identical preferences without the a-prefixed forms, and the 4 that showed different preferences did not differ in any systematic way in terms of the three aspects of progressive.[18] Quite clearly, then, the results from Hackenberg's test must be seen to be at best a reflection of preferences for the category progressive and not uniquely correlated to a-prefixing.

There are other facts observed with respect to a-prefixing that can be seen to be a reflection of the surface category progressive rather than a function of a-prefixing. For example, Feagin's (forthcoming) breakdown of verbs with a-prefixing indicates that there are many more active verbs occurring with a-prefixing than statives or quasi-stative verbs. This, however, is a function of the permissibility of progressives with active verbs rather than any unique reflection of distributional privileges for a-prefixing. It is a well-known fact that stative and quasi-stative verbs are much less likely to progressivize than active verbs (Sag 1973). We thus do not get forms such as (68) because of this restriction.

(68) a. *John is knowing the answers.
b. *John is believing the remark.

Similarly, we do not get forms like (69) with a-prefixing:

(69) a. *John is a-knowin' the answer.
b. *John is a-believin' the remark.

The higher frequency of active verbs with a-prefixing is obviously due to their greater potential incidence with progressives. All of the semantic restrictions we find for a-prefixing with progressives are obviously general to the category progressive.

The observations made above are primarily concerned with a-prefixing on surface progressives. It might also be noted that there appear to be some general semantic restrictions on a-prefixed participles occurring as complements of the movement verbs. Consider, for example, the list of a-prefixed participles occurring with the movement verbs in our corpus (70):

(70) a-runnin'
a-rollin'
a-walkin'
a-huntin'
a-crawlin'
a-jumpin'
a-hollerin'
a-swimmin'
a-birch sappin'
a-beatin'
a-squirrel huntin'
a-deer huntin'
a-shootin'
a-ridin'
a-pheasant huntin'

The activities represented in the list in (70) tend to be physical in nature and involve relatively unstructured activites as far as game-like rules are concerned. In most instances, there may be some continued motion from one undetermined location to another. The physical restriction is seen in the acceptability of sentences like (71) vis-à-vis the unacceptability of sentences like (72):

(71) a. John went a-runnin' through the field.
b. John went a-pheasant huntin'.

(72) a. *John went a-dreamin'.
b. *John went a-puzzle-solvin'.

The contrast between semantic activities which are relatively unstructured as opposed to those that are structured in a game-like manner is seen in comparing sentences like (71) and (73):

(73) a. *He went a-baseballin'.
b. *He went a-polo playin'.

These types of restriction are not, however, unique to a-prefixed participles. Silva (1973) has, in fact, shown that these are the restrictions which must be placed on all participial complements to the movement verbs.[19] We thus conclude that any semantic restrictions found for a-prefixing with movement verbs can be shown to involve a similar sort of restriction for the non-a-prefixed counterpart.

Not only does a-prefixing occur in all the semantic contexts allowable for non-a-prefixed surface progressives, the quasi-progressive keep, and movement verbs, but the overall semantic domain covered by a-prefixed forms can actually be shown to be somewhat broader when its usage with certain adverbial phrases is considered. With sentences like (18) (i.e. He got sick a-workin' so hard), it can be argued that phrases denoting time also involve causal relationships with the temporal and causal relationships being interrelated. In these cases, the occasion of the activity in the a-prefixed form resulted in the activity of the main verb. Again, however, we see that this is not something unique to a-prefixed forms, but a function of the underlying temporal locative ON or AT. Similar relationships have been noted for the surface realizations of prepositional phrases introduced by on or at.

> On is used with miscellaneous abstract head-words to indicate a point of time, though there is nearly always a short lapse of time between this point and the action expressed by the verb in the sentence and the action is conceived of as ensuing as the immediate and logical consequence of that which the prepositional phrase denotes, a causal relationship thereby being established. For similar cases with contemporaneity, see at...
>
> (Sandhagen 1956:82)

Although such causal relationships have largely been taken over by the prepositions from and by in current usage (cf. sentence (50)) the temporal locative on still may carry this function in some specialized contexts, as in sentences like (74):

(74) a. On investigating the accident, he changed his mind about the guilt.

b. He changed the structure of the program on assuming the chairmanship.

As mentioned above, the present use of temporal locatives such as on and at with this causal relationship is now quite restricted, and most varieties of English would not allow the realization of on as the surface preposition for the sentences given in (18). That is, we do not get sentences like (75):

(75) a. *He got sick on working so hard.
b. *He nearly died on laughing so hard.
c. *He makes money on building houses.

Although we previously noted (cf. sentence (52)) that on and at have a somewhat broader surface range in AE than that found in some other varieties of Engish, it is unclear whether on would be allowed in sentences like (75). From our limited evidence, however, it appears that they would not be permissible for most AE speakers, and the surface realizations would also have to be from or by for this variety. If this is indeed the case, then we have here a slightly broader surface range for a-prefixed forms than that of the alternant surface on or at forms. This is not, however, related to any inherent semantic distinction but a general manifestation of the fact that underlying temporal locatives are realized in a number of different ways. The more widespread use of the temporal locatives on or at during earlier periods in the English language seems to be fairly well-documented (cf. Jespersen 1933:53).

Finally, we should mention Feagin's proposal concerning the meaning of a-prefixing. Although Feagin is somewhat more cautious in her interpretation than Stewart and Hackenberg, she ends up suggesting that a-prefixing has the meaning of intensified action or immediacy or dramatic vividness.

> ...I want to propose that the a + V + ing form has the meaning "intensified action" or "immediacy or dramatic vividness" as suggested by Leech as an offshoot of the progressive in general. ...the prefixed participle tends to occur in emotional contexts such as narration of stories about ghosts, accidents, murders tornadoes, fires, gossip, hunting, or childhood games and escapades. This could lead to opposite interpretations. First, that it occurs as a stylistic device to add color and immediacy to the story. Second, that it occurs here because the speaker is caught up in his own thoughts and has let slip older, more rural forms which he normally edits out, especially in front of strangers like me.
>
> I believe the first interpretation to be the correct one, since 20 of the examples occur with the intensifier just, 11 with keep (which has an intensifying meaning of "perservere"). Of these 11, 6 of the examples occurred

> with just as well, as in kept on a-churning. Thus the action described is triply intensified: just kept on a-churning.
>
> (Feagin: forthcoming)

It is unclear whether Feagin is proposing a formal semantic distinction of intensification or vividness, but if so, such a claim seems difficult to motivate. While intensifying just is the most frequently co-occurring adverb in both Feagin's data and the data considered here (34 of the 89 co-occurring adverbs with a-prefixing are just), intensifying just also occurs with non-a-prefixed forms for the same speakers who reveal it with a-prefixing. A formal distinction between an intensifying adverb like just or really as compared with a minimizing one such as hardly (76) and (77) apparently does not obtain.

(76) He was really a-runnin'.
(77) He was hardly a-runnin'.

While there is no clear-cut evidence for a formal distinction on the basis of the sort of semantic distinctions suggested by Feagin, our evidence does indicate that AE speakers would at least stylistically prefer a sentence like (76) over (77), since intensifying just is more likely to co-occur with a-prefixed forms than with non-a-prefixed ones.

Feagin's argument for intensification on the basis of its co-occurrence with keep is subject to the same types of considerations that we have raised with respect to intensifying just. In addition, we may mention that keep is most often used in the same way as habitual progressives, the category which appears to be most inherent to the notion progressive. While this may indicate a stylistic preference, no formal semantic distinction can be motivated on this basis.

Another argument raised by Feagin comes from the observation that a-prefixing tends to occur in emotional contexts in narratives. While it is very difficult to specify precisely the degree of emotion that would qualify as 'emotional', there is evidence that a-prefixing occurs more in narratives than in other discourse styles. Our breakdown in terms of the category narrative indicates that 67.2 per cent of all a-prefixed forms in our corpus are found in narratives. Here again, though, we are talking about a stylistic preference rather than a qualitative formal distinction.

Although Feagin eventually ends up her discussion with a choice between two interpretations for a-prefixing (namely a stylistic device to add color or a narrative shift into older, more rural forms), these need not be viewed as mutually exclusive choices. We would expect that the emotional narration of stories with dramatic vividness would certainly give rise to older, more rural forms, which it obviously does in this case. That an older, more rural form should be used as a stylistic device in dramatic narratives certainly stands to reason. This is especially true in the case of forms which may not carry any apparent formal distinction, which is what appears to be the case with a-prefixing.

The upshot of this discussion of semantic aspects of a-prefixing is that we have found no formal evidence for positing a distinct semantic category for a-prefixing. Investigation of several different proposals for a semantic distinction carried by a-prefixing has shown that these cannot be motivated. This, of course, is not to say that no formal distinction can be found since we are always limited by the finiteness of our investigation. Further investigation may yet prove that our conclusion is unwarranted. Hopefully, however, at least some of the possible interpretations have been eliminated, and further examination of this phenomenon can start at this point.

6.4 Conclusion

As seen in the above discussion, a-prefixing in AE is a phenomenon which can only be understood by appealing to several different levels of language organization. We have seen that there are clearly defined contexts in which it is syntactically permissible and others in which it is blocked for syntactic reasons. Some of the syntactically permissible cases are then prohibited because of phonological constraints, whereas others occur variably. Those occurring variably are sensitive to several phonological constraints and a grammatical constraint affecting their variability. Finally, the investigation of possible semantic distinctiveness indicates that current claims suggesting a unique grammatical category for a-prefixing are unmotivated. This, however, does not preclude the possibility that a-prefixing is an older form which has been retained as a stylistic device in certain types of contexts calling for dramatic vividness.

CHAPTER SIX

FOOTNOTES

1. There are occasional occurrences of *a*-prefixed forms on items other than *-ing* participial forms (e.g. *I went through a house that's supposed to be a-haunted* 17:(1194)). These include participial *-ed* forms and even non-participial adjectives and adverbs. In this account, we shall not be considering these infrequent occurrences of *a*-prefixing on non-*ing* participial forms.

2. Due to the regular realization of the *-ing* participial forms as [In] or [ɨn] phonetically, we have adopted the popular convention in which these forms are indicated as *in'* orthographically.

3. See Kirsner and Thompson (1974) for other motivations for this distinction.

4. There is also a phonological basis for the ungrammaticality of *surprising* which we shall discuss later.

5. The structures where the overt preposition need not occur are, of course, identical to those where it need not occur in standard varieties of English. That is, we get:

(i) a. He got sick working so hard.
b. He nearly died laughing so hard.
c. He makes money building fences.

These are all cases which Williams (1971) refers to as adverbial *-ing*, as opposed to adjectival and nominal *-ing* participles.

6. The compatibility of *keep*+*ing* participle and movement verbs + *ing* participle with *be*+*ing* progressives seems to reveal a "squishy" category for progressives. While we shall not develop arguments for this interpretation here, it appears that *keep*+*ing* is more compatible with *be*+*ing* than movement verbs + *ing* although both of them share certain properties of the category "progressive".

7. Many varieties of English do, of course, have a limited aspect of *on* ~ *a-* alternation relating to non-participial forms. Note, for example, the relationships between sentences like *He set the house on fire*~*He set the house afire* or *He got on board*~*He got aboard*.

8. Since several of these "extended on or at" alternants are found in the speech of the fieldworkers who use a-prefixed forms relatively rarely, it might be suggested that this is actually a type of hypercorrection away from a-prefixed forms. If this is, in fact, the case, this simply adds confirmation to the basic argument for the underlying prepositional base from a different source.

9. Some apparent exceptions that occur seem explanable through lexicalizations which have lead to changes in the categories of overtly realized forms. For example, although we do get forms like He kept on a-huntin' the on in this case functions as an adverbial particle rather than a preposition.

10. It is curious that Hackenberg gives no background information on the 130 subjects who responded to his forced choice questionnaire other than to say that they were residents of the county where his study took place. Some of them were, however, apparently school children as indicated by his remarks concerning the elicitation of background information (Hackenberg 1972:80). If a substantial number of these are, in fact, school children, the likelihood of their being regular users of a-prefixing is even more suspect.

11. Although there are no examples of a-prefixing which are realized on -ing forms beginning with a vowel in this corpus, Feagin (personal communication) has brought one such item to our attention from her corpus. Hackenberg (1971) has no examples in his corpus. It is possible that the constraint may be semi-categorical for some speakers.

12. An examination of the data reported by Hackenberg (1971) and Feagin (forthcoming) reveals no counterexamples to this claim.

13. This conclusion does not match the stereotype that AE speakers who use a-prefixing will also tend to delete unstressed initial syllables with relatively high frequency. The impression may have arisen from the fact that, although initial syllable deletion is not that frequent overall for these speakers, there are lexical items affected by this process which are not typically affected in mainstream varieties (e.g. 'taters for 'potatoes' and 'maters for 'tomatoes').

14. We are indebted to Peg Griffin for her assistance in preparing Tables 39 and 40.

15. It is interesting to note that the dialect geographers who cite a-prefixing as a part of their descriptive inventories often cite the coordinate form of this construction (cf. Atwood 1953:34).

16. It seems apparent that the discovery of a unique contrast for distributive be in Vernacular Black English (cf. Fasold 1969) has inspired the search for a unique semantic aspect of a-prefixing in AE. In fact, this investigation started out with such a bias. Hopefully, however, the ensuing discussion will reveal that our eventual conclusion is not subject to self-fulfilling prophecy.

17. Hackenberg (1972:132) eventually ends up calling the semantic aspect favoring a-prefixing durative rather than intermittent, for reasons that do not appear to be motivated on any formal basis.

18. It became apparent that many of the 39 subjects who took this test were responding on the basis of facts totally unrelated to progressive contrasts in some of the items. It seems that the same would hold true for the subjects in Hackenberg's study due to the nature of the test. This observation causes us to question the validity of any of the conclusions drawn from this test with respect to progressives or a-prefixed forms.

19. This is not to say that we are in complete agreement with all the semantic restrictions on these complements set forth by Silva. There are qualifications that need to be made on her semantic properties. The point we are emphasizing here, however, is that there is nothing about the verbal complements with movement verbs that can be seen to be unique to a-prefixed forms as opposed to their non-a-prefixed counterparts.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IRREGULAR VERBS

7.0 Introduction

The verb system in English as it has evolved currently has a single productive inflectional ending to signal pastness, both in the preterit and the past participle. This ending, in its three phonological manifestations (/t/, /d/ and /ɨd/), represents the maintenance of the suffix used for these tenses on weak verbs in Old English. In addition, there are a number of verbs which typically undergo different processes in forming the preterit and past participle. These verbs are referred to as 'irregular', a term which is used in the present discussion for any verb which does not follow the productive pattern for forming both its preterit and past participle, such as *kept*, *thought* or *grew*/*grown*. In most cases, such verbs are related to members of the seven strong classes of verbs in earlier forms of English, although the patterns involved and the distribution among classes has changed considerably (Pyles 1964).

In some varieties of English, these irregular verbs have alternate past forms which differ from what is typically considered the standard. ("Standard" here refers only to forms themselves. See Section 2.4 for a discussion of the use of this item.) Our sample of AE contains many examples of such forms; of the 52 informants whose speech will be analyzed here, only one showed no instances of nonstandard usage with respect to irregular verbs. The others, as might be expected, indicated a wide range of such usage for all age groups. Examples from our corpus which illustrate this phenomena are given in (1) and (2):

Preterit:

(1) a. I told her I *done* it. 1:14
b. We *throwed* them a birthday party. 36:3
c. Finally the state *come* by and they pushed it all out. 46:7
d. She *give* him a dose of castor oil. 153:5

Past Participle:

(2) a. Her home *had went*, I guess, 50 yards or more from its foundation. 37:8

b. And they hadn't never saw a ghost before. 77:4

c. Well, he had begin to improve. 157:34

d. When I brung it back out, my rod was broke. 10:15

As shown in these examples, there seems to be a variety of ways in which "leveling" of irregular verb forms takes place in AE. The specifics of these processes will be treated more thoroughly in a later section.

7.1 Language Change and the Irregular Verb System

The formation of past tense verbs in English has evolved from a more complex system of inflectional endings (including at one point, for example, a distinction between singular and plural in the preterit, which survives today only in the was and were forms of to be) and is still in progress. Evidence that such change is in progress can be found in the variability that exists in the use of certain of the irregular verbs. This variability is manifested by a fluctuation between what can be considered the current "standard" form and a socially stigmatized form of the type illustrated in (1) and (2). This "standard" form is sometimes difficult to identify, however, particularly when a change appears to be near completion. This period of variability is characteristic of change in progress and ends when the change is complete (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968; Bailey 1973). During the period of change the two forms -- old and new -- are both in use. In the case of the past tense system for verb forms in English, the overall variability has existed since the earliest stages in the development of the language and continues presently. What change has been resolved has been in individual verbs, rather than in the overall system, where a verb has ceased to be used (primarily a lexical change), has been regularized to the productive pattern or has taken on the inflectional pattern of another class (morphological changes). These changes, of course, affect the overall system, but as yet no stage which could be considered a resolution has been reached.[1]

The sample of AE under discussion here exhibits such variability in the past forms of the irregular (with respect to present day English) verbs. However, this by no means represents a recent innovation in the language. As mentioned before, Old English had seven morphologically-defined classes of strong or irregular verbs which by the Middle English period had begun to break down. Pyles (1964:162) notes that in Middle English, many strong forms acquired regularized (i.e. dental-suffixed) counterparts and then disappeared, leaving the regularized form. He cites examples such as helpen (infinitive), 'to help', which in Old English had the preterit singular healp, preterit plural hulpon and past participle holpen. By the Middle English period, it evolved to halp, hulpen and holpen respectively, and eventually the leveling process resulted in the current helped in all past forms. In addition, some of the fluctuations mentioned in connection with Early Modern English (17th and 18th centuries) are found in current non-mainstream varieties of English. Some of these appear to have been stigmatized forms at the time while others were not. For example, certain participles occurred which lacked the -en ending, as in bit or which were identical with the preterit, as in rode and drove (Pyles 1964:196). Both of these processes provide alternate forms for the participle in the sample being considered here.

While change may be most obvious when looking at historical developments, geographical and/or social class variation is indicative of change in progress since the period of fluctuation discussed above reveals itself in the "structured heterogeneity" (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968) as correlated with such factors. With respect to irregular verbs, this variation has been attested in a number of studies of present-day American English. Linguistic Atlas surveys discussed by Atwood (1953) show the use of a number of the nonstandard irregular preterits and past participles in areas of the Eastern United States, including, but not limited to, the Appalachian area. In most cases, such usages were reported for the class of informants described as "poorly educated" (Atwood 1953:2), which points to the interaction of social class factors. In an article based on a survey of dialects in England conducted within a similar class of informants, Francis (1971) cites occurrences of the same types of verb form variants along with general geographical distribution.

Other studies of varieties of English have touched on the irregular verb system, but for the most part there has been little detailed discussion. Characteristically, a few tentative generalizations are offered, often coupled with a listing of the verbs with irregular past forms that had nonstandard variants. In some cases, the generalizations offered are not drawn directly from the data presented. For example, Williams, whose articles on "Mountain Speech" provide a large amount of secondary source-type data, comments that "This habit of leveling a verb to one or two tense forms increases the facility of the verb and tends to enhance the rhythmical quality of the speech." (Williams 1962:15). This is admittedly not representative of the discussions of this subject; however, it is presented as an indication of the range of comment that can be found.

Other treatments provide less subjective descriptive statements but do not go into much detail in terms of analysis. Feagin (forthcoming) describes this type of usage as a strong class marker in White Alabama English, noting that all of her working class informants showed some degree of nonstandardness in this area. A list of such verbs and their nonstandard forms is then presented, separated into groups by the process of derivation from the standard form (i.e. regularization, use of preterit form for the past participle, etc.). Hackenberg (1972) also treats irregular verbs briefly in his consideration of a variety of AE, again providing a list of the forms observed, and making general descriptive statements about the trends that seem to be exemplified. In a comprehensive discussion of the features of Vernacular Black English, Labov et al (1968) include the nonstandard use of irregular verbs, but ultimately conclude:

> Although the category of past is well-established, the particular shape of the irregular past forms shows a wide range of variation. A tabulation of the many irregular variants which we have encountered is hardly enlightening, though eventually a careful study of these may show system where none appears at the moment.
>
> (Labov et al 1968:257)

Mention of these studies is made primarily to point out the widespread existence of this phenomena and the need for a more in-depth investigation as well as to give an overview of the interrelationship of social and geographical factors. We can view this sociolinguistic variability as an indication of potential change in progress.[2]

In addition to the research mentioned above, which includes the discussion of irregular verbs within studies of a broader nature. there is one specific treatment of these forms. Parker (n.d.) treats this topic for a nonstandard variety referred to as "Uneducated American English (UAE)", which he describes as a socially rather than a geographically distinguished variety. In an attempt to account for the systematicity of the points where this variety deviates from Standard English (SE), he formulates two principles, or what he calls "rules", which he claims operate on all verbs, irregular or not, in UAE. Briefly, these principles state that the preterit form from SE is used in UAE for the past participle (as in *have took*), and that final unstressed syllables are deleted from SE past participles (i.e. *given →give*). While these principles would appear to account for some of the data, and are certainly simple enough, there are several problems with the analysis that make it unacceptable.

First of all, the primary data which Parker deals with are a collection of examples from fictional representations consisting of authors' impressions of various varieties of English. This is supplemented by his own intuitions, a source which he calls "tentative at best" (n.d.:2). For the most part, what he presents is not inaccurate, in that the forms he lists are also attested in our AE corpus; the problem lies instead in the incompleteness of the sample, at least with respect to the AE data. This is reflected in the fact that while his analysis accounts basically for the forms which are listed, it is relatively easy to find examples for which it does not work in AE. (AE would presumably be a part of his "UAE dialect".) For example, a very common nonstandard usage in our corpus is the regularization of verbs like *blow* to *blowed* for both preterit and past participle. However, in Parker's schema, the only possibilities he lists are preterit *blown* and participle *blew*. Another case is that of *eat* where many AE speakers use that same form (*eat*) for both past forms; in his list it is /ɛt/ (from *eaten*) for the preterit and *ate* as past participle.

In addition, Parker claims that his rules apply to weak or regular verbs as well as strong. Even if these rules could be modified to give a more acceptable analysis, such a claim would be very hard to support (or disprove). This is due to the fact that for the weak verbs, the preterit and past participle are identical, so there is no way to confirm that the two forms switch functions, as his rules would predict. Finally, Parker rightly observes that "speakers of UAE fall on a continuum that approaches SE" (n.d.:8), since the rules he suggests are not consistently applied by all speakers. It is not at all clear, however, how this observation could be accommodated in his analysis, particularly given the claim concerning weak verbs. If the forms were, in fact, switching functions in all past tense verbs, as he maintains, it would seem to require some very complex manipulations to account for the speaker's standard usage of some irregular verbs. Thus, the sociolinguistic variability, which is considered central in our discussion, is inadequately treated by Parker and serves more to disconfirm rather than support his analysis.

In the following sections, the variation in past forms of irregular verbs will be examined, based on our AE corpus. Although the "system" seems to have been elusive to many researchers, as voiced by Labov et al, it appears that the underlying systematicity is best uncovered when the synchronic facts are considered as they reflect the natural tendencies of language change. The present discussion, therefore, will focus on viewing the data collected within this context, utilizing the theoretical framework developed in Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968) and Bailey (1973) introduced above.

7.2 The Extraction of Data

The following procedure was used to extract the data on past forms of irregular verbs in AE. For each of the 52 informants, a record was kept of the total number of past forms of irregular verbs produced during the course of the interview, classified as standard or nonstandard and separated, whether the forms were identical or not, into preterit and past participle function. In addition, segments of speech containing the initial occurrence of a verb form for each informant were extracted to provide illustrations of the sample. This amount of detail proved beneficial in that it allowed for later analysis between and within the dimensions of informants and verb usage.

Certain decisions were required during data extraction, particularly in terms of definition -- what is an irregular verb, what is the standard form for a given verb. As mentioned earlier, "irregular verb" was taken in its broadest sense, as any verb which forms a preterit or past participle by some process other than the productive inflection of English, excluding auxiliaries and modals. The question of determining the standard form was less easily resolved. Since the system is undergoing change, what would be considered the standard preterit or participle for certain verbs is a somewhat controversial issue. In most cases, the distinction between a standard and a nonstandard form seems fairly clearcut, as in blowed vs. blew/blown. In others, it is somewhat more vague, probably due to a more advanced stage of change, but was still maintained, as in participles like broke vs. broken. However, in the instances where alternation between regularized and non-regularized forms exists, with no obvious differences in social acceptability, the verbs were excluded from the sample. These included dived vs. dove, shined vs. shone and sneaked vs. snuck. In general, the list of verbs included follows that of Hoard and Sloat (1971, 1973), a source which will be discussed in detail later. Their lists seem to reflect the present informal standard of English usage and they generally marked those items which were questionable.

In addition to the questionable areas of standardness with respect to morphological form, there were certain other complicating factors. In order to be clear about which data were appropriate, it was necessary to make a careful distinction between nonstandard usage of a verb as a lexical item or as within a particular syntactic construction vis-à-vis nonstandard realizations in terms of form. For example, the use of got or have got with a function like that of possessive have, as in I('ve) got three dollars in my pocket may be a stigmatized usage. (Judgments on this vary.) However it does not represent a true past form of get in that situation and therefore does not qualify as data for this investigation. Another instance is the operation of auxiliary deletion (discussed in Section 3.2.2) which results in sentences like (3):

(3) First time I ever been out in the woods with a gun. 10:11

Since been is not an alternate form of the preterit was, but instead represents the past participle with have deleted, it was not counted. Other cases like this will be mentioned as they enter into the analysis (i.e. those not as clear-cut for tabulation as the above), but in general, where a question arose as to the appropriateness of certain data that could not be resolved, that data was either extracted for separate treatment or excluded.

One final aspect of data extraction should be mentioned. For some verbs, the form alone does not indicate which tense is intended and, in these cases, clues from the surrounding context, such as time adverbials or sequence of tenses on other verbs, were considered to determine tense. This happens with verbs like split where all the tense forms are identical, as well as in ones like come where a variant of the preterit in AE is the same as the form for the present. In most instances, the tense function intended was fairly obvious, and, again, questionable cases were excluded.

All but one of the 52 informants in the sample showed some incidence of nonstandard forms for irregular verbs, providing a sufficient number of occurrences of most verbs on which to base an analysis. For that purpose, verbs represented by less than five tokens were arbitrarily disregarded since it was impossible to determine the generalizability of the pattern shown in them. For example, the preterit of the verb sting was found only once and on that occasion was used in a nonstandard fashion (stinged). This could not, however, be maintained as characteristic of the variety based on just one instance. Many verbs occurred significantly more often than five times, with varying degrees of nonstandard variants from 100 per cent nonstandard to 100 per cent standard. To illustrate the size of the data base, Table 41 presents the ten most frequently occurring verbs (total number of occurrences), with a preterit/past participle breakdown and the respective percentages of nonstandard variants used.

	Occurrences			Nonstandard % Variants	
Verb	Total	Preterit	Participle	Preterit	Participle
have (main verb)	1,422	1,355	67	0	0
get	1,296	1,208	88	0	89.8
go	1,237	1,114	123	0	51.2
say	996	991	5	0	0
come	609	579	30	71.2	3.3
take	386	369	17	22.5	58.8
see	354	243	111	72.9	5.4
tell	327	299	28	0	0
think	259	248	11	0	0
hear	208	120	88	20.0	27.3

Table 41. Most Frequently Occurring Verbs with Irregular Past Forms

The figures in Table 41 illustrate certain characteristics of the entire data base. In general, preterit forms are far more frequent in occurrence than past participles. There appears to be no obvious effect of raw frequency on the probability that a nonstandard variant is used, since some of the verbs (i.e. say) are used standardly all of the time, while others have fairly high rates of nonstandard usage in either the preterit (come) or the past participle (get). This also points to the lack of any direct connection between use of a nonstandard variant in the preterit and in the participle in those cases where the standard forms differ (go). Where the standard forms are identical (hear), the frequencies seem fairly even.

In terms of the group of verbs as a whole, there were 106 different irregular verbs used in a past form in the corpus (determined according to the working definition discussed above). Fifty-five of these had only standard realizations and the remaining 51 had one or more instances of a nonstandard variant. There are, of course, other irregular verbs in English, but only those that actually occurred in our sample will be considered here. It is unlikely that a verb in very common use in AE would not have appeared, given the extensive amount of data collected.

7.3 Standard Forms of Irregular Verbs

In discussing the irregular verb forms of AE, it is important first to consider the processes of tense formation in standard English since the standard variants (in this case) will be considered as the base which is undergoing changes when viewing the differences as part of language change. Also, while there are differences between the two varieties in this area, AE shares much of the irregular verb system with standard English.[3] In order to provide a basis for discussion of the alternate forms of AE, then, some attention needs to be given to the standard system.

A comprehensive treatment of this topic is found in the work of Hoard and Sloat (1971, 1973). Their analysis involves positing rules for the derivation of the past forms of irregular verbs and aims at the inclusion primarily of rules that are otherwise needed for English. If these rules turn out to be the appropriate characterizations of the various processes, they would, of course, apply as well to those in AE. They would be needed for the other processes AE shares with most other varieties of English, and then would be available to form a basis for the irregular verbs. For our purposes, the specific formulations of the rules will not be dealt with in detail since they involve a much broader scope than the present study. What will prove to be useful here, instead, are the classes that the verbs fall into based on how these rules apply. The patterning of nonstandard usage according to these classes will be discussed in a later section.

7.3.1 Internal Sandhi Verbs

Hoard and Sloat make a major division in the irregular verbs of English between those which undergo internal sandhi and those which are formed by ablauting and umlauting processes. For the first category, they propose that the verbs involved are more easily accounted for if the changes accompanying the addition of past inflectional endings are viewed as internal sandhi (Hoard and Sloat 1971). This differentiates such changes from those that occur as a result of "regular" past tense formation, which are instances of external sandhi, the application of processes in the presence of a morpheme boundary (#). Internal sandhi operates where there is a + juncture or no juncture. Since the specification of the past tense morpheme includes a # boundary, Hoard and Sloat (1971:49) propose that the minor rule which changes # to + applies for these verbs. In sum, the derivation of past forms for this category of irregular verbs, according to the account by Hoard and Sloat, is accomplished by changing the boundary preceding the preterit or past participle morpheme, then applying certain phonological rules (all needed for other aspects of English as well) that can operate across that boundary. For example, a verb which falls into this category is leave/left. Its preterit would be formed as follows (see Hoard and Sloat 1971 for explanation and justification of the specific rules named):

(4) a. lε̄v + t[4] (after boundary change)
    b. lεv + t (cluster laxing rule)
    c. lεf + t (regressive assimilation rule)

The group of verbs undergoing internal sandhi is divided into six classes based on the patterns of derivation. Illustrative verbs for each class are:

I. *burn*/*burnt*, *dwell*/*dwelt*
II. *keep*/*kept*, *mean*/*meant*
III. *beat*/*beat*, *shut*/*shut*
IV. *bite*/*bit*, *feed*/*fed*
V. *send*/*sent*, *build*/built
VI. *leave*/*left*, *lose*/*lost*

For the most part, these verbs have identical preterit and past participle realizations. However, a few from classes III (*beat*/*beaten*) and IV (*bit*/*bitten*, *hid*/*hidden*) have different forms and thus the rules and classes established by Hoard and Sloat here pertain only to their preterits. The past participle for these three verbs fits rather into a class set up within the other major category, which requires grouping the participles of verbs like *hide* with those of verbs like *write*, whose preterit is derived in a very different manner. This is not a problem for the present analysis, though, since the two types of past tense functions will be considered separately.

7.3.2 Ablauting and Umlauting Verbs

Ablauting and unlauting verbs form the other category established by Hoard and Sloat (1973). This group includes alternations like *sing*/*sang*/*sung* (ablaut) and *hold*/*held* (unlaut). They propose a set of morphological rules, consisting of three ablaut, one umlaut, preterit and past participle formation rules, to derive the appropriate surface forms. These rules, as well as accompanying phonological rules specified, are formulated according to a treatment of markedness also presented, and the claim is made that, for the most part, the rules are independently needed to account for other aspects of English. Again, the details of these formulations will not concern us here; the main features of the process for deriving irregular verbs will simply be outlined.

According to Hoard and Sloat's account, the set of morphological rules precedes the phonological rules, so that rules like ablaut and umlaut operate to determine the underlying shapes of irregular verbs. These forms are then subject to the application of the appropriate phonological rules. (Irregular verbs are a specific case of a principle that is posited for the grammar of English and would apply more generally.) They propose a system of lexical marking to handle such exceptions to regular processes in which the unproductive rules of English, like ablaut, are "marked" rules, while the productive ones, like the regular preterit affix, are "unmarked". Then, if a lexical item, in this case a verb, is exceptional, it is specified in the lexicon that it undergoes a marked rule and it is automatically excluded from application of the unmarked process. For example, Hoard and Sloat consider the derivation of bought (1973:117). The underlying form suggested is /bih/ which, for the preterit and past participle, is marked in the lexicon for an ablaut rule, their "Ablaut I", and the regular past suffix /#d/, their "R_d". (In their system, if a marked rule is indicated for a lexical item which also takes an unmarked rule, the latter must be specified as well in the lexicon or it would be automatically excluded.) These morphological rules result in the form /bah#d/ as input to the phonological rules. The derivation involves processes like progressive voicing (giving /bah#t/) and others which modify the vowel, leading to the surface form [bɒət]. (The notation here is that used by Hoard and Sloat.)

While the mechanisms suggested by Hoard and Sloat for these verbs will not be evaluated here, some comments can be offered on how this kind of system, if validated, could accommodate the type of nonstandard usage found in the sample of AE. Since the underlying shapes that become the input to the phonological rules would be determined by lexical markings, it would seem fairly straightforward to consider nonstandard forms as resulting from different markings. The regularized pasts, like blowed, are easiest to account for; they would simply lack any specification for past tenses and so would automatically take the regular past suffix. The items which have distinct forms for preterit and past participle in standard English but no distinction in AE, such as preterit come or past participle wrote, could be marked to undergo the same derivation for both tenses. Other alternate forms could be accounted for similarly. In addition, since many speakers show variation even for individual verb forms between standard and nonstandard, there would need to be a way of allowing for this, perhaps through some sort of implicational marking to show a relation between style, or some other variable, and the form realized. Such considerations, however, remain speculative in the context of the present discussion.

The aspect of Hoard and Sloat's acconunt that will form a basic part of this investigation, as discussed earlier, is the classification of verbs that accompanies it. The classes are formed by verbs that share the application of the morphological rules needed in the derivation of their preterit and past participle forms. The following is a representative listing of verbs that fall into each of the seven classes that are set up:

I. ride, write, give, see, eat
II. speak, break, tear, fight, buy, tell
III. begin, drink, run, swim, come
IV. dig, win, sting, find, stand
V. throw, know, draw, fly
VI. get, forget, take
VII. do, hold, fall

This classification has been chosen for use here to some extent because it is the only one available based on a generative type of analysis. It is, for the most part, however, aligned with groupings that would be made from an examination of surface patterns and has the advantage of a consideration of underlying forms and their derivations.

Finally, Hoard and Sloat mention certain special cases of irregular verbs. One set -- make, have and clothe -- require a special rule to remove the final consonant when the past suffix is added. Another, made up of can, will and shall, has a derivation only tentatively suggested. The last set, termed the "truly irregular" verbs (1973:120) of English includes the suppletive forms be, go, and may. Of these verbs, only go concerns us here since the others are either auxiliaries or never show a nonstandard variant. When class distinctions are called for, it will be separated from the others discussed above as a "suppletive" form.

7.4 Irregular Verbs in Appalachian English

7.4.1 General Patterns

The data collected from the 52 informants in our sample show a wide variety of nonstandard variants for the irregular verbs of English. One way to characterize this usage is by considering gross patterns of how the nonstandard alternates differ from the standard patterns. (This manner of grouping these verbs will be compared with the classification system set forth by Hoard and Sloat in a later section.) There are several basic categories that emerge and these will be briefly discussed to further illustrate the type of data found.

Regularization of preterit and/or participle forms occurs with a number of verbs. (It should be remembered throughout that individual informants vary with respect to both the extent and kind of nonstandard realizations.) By this process, a past tense is formed with the regular past suffix, in the appropriate shape, as in knowed instead of knew or known. For some verbs where the preterit and past participle forms are distinct, one of the two may be extended to serve both functions, so that, for example, the participle drunk is also used for the preterit, or the preterit went occurs in a participial context. A third pattern found is the use of the bare root form (equivalent to the non-third person present), for verbs like eat and give. Finally, there are a few instances of different strong forms being used, as in brung for brought (probably an analogy with patterns like sting/stung) and drug. Table 42 presents a complete listing of the verbs observed according to these patterns, in order to offer a clearer picture of the variation found, as well as to illustrate the range of each of these patterns. The number of tokens of each verb in that form is indicated in parentheses.

7.4.2 Devoiced Past Endings

In addition to the verbs in Table 42, there is another set of forms that seem to be nonstandard, but of a different sort. For these, the standard ending /d/ is devoiced to /t/, as in:

(5) a. Every time I boilt water, I burnt it. 36:23
b. I got so sick at my stomach when I smelt them green beans. 29:13
c. ...and we fount some money. 1:18

This devoicing is also found in AE in the alternations of learned/learnt, held/helt, ruined/ruint, spilled/spill, and spoiled/spoilt.

The process involved here seems to be an extension of one of the classes put forth by Hoard and Sloat (1971:49). In that class they include burnt, dwelt, learnt, smelt, spelt and spilt, but the latter four would appear to be questionable as standard forms. In addition, they

Regularization	Preterit as Participle	Participle as Preterit	Bare Root	Different Strong
knowed (45)	got (72)	seen (169)	come (381)	set (75)
heared (31)	went (66)	done (80)	run (80)	tuck (73)
borned (17)	bit (22)	taken (10)	give (64)	brung (11)
throwed (13)	broke (16)	broken (2)	eat (22)	drug (8)
growed (12)	tore (12)	sunk (2)	begin (7)	hearn (7)
blowed (11)	took (11)	drunk (2)	become (3)	het (heated) (1)
drinked (6)	wore (8)	grown (1)	swim (2)	
drawed (4)	saw (6)	mistaken (1)	hear (2)	
bursted (2)	froze (6)		sing (1)	
runned (2)	hid (5)			
shedded (2)	wrote (5)			
betted (1)	fell (4)			
lighted (1)	rode (3)			
eated (1)	forgot (3)			
gived (1)	woke (3)			
hanged (1)	beat (3)			
stinged (1)	did (3)			
spreaded (1)	ran (2)			
	ate (2)			
	stole (2)			
	drove (2)			
	forgave (1)			
	flew (1)			
	drank (1)			
	swam (1)			
	gave (1)			
	grew (1)			
	came (1)			
	redid (1)			
	spoke (1)			

Table 42. Patterns of Nonstandard Use of Irregular Verbs in AE

mention the possibility of *spoilt* in some varieties of English (Hoard and Sloat 1971:55). At any rate, the extension to other verbs in AE clearly follows the same pattern, that of a voiceless past suffix following a verb stem ending in /n/ or /l/ (i.e. those stem final sonorants which are homorganic with the inflectional ending). In the earlier article (Hoard and Sloat 1971), the underlying form posited for this inflection was /t/ and so these forms needed only to be exempt from the voicing assimilation that regularly takes place, that is where /t/ follows voiceless segments and /d/ follows voiced. With the reconsideration of the underlying shape which led Hoard and Sloat to propose that it is instead /d/ (1973:114), a devoicing rule to account for these verbs was then needed. They give a very informal, general version of such a rule. A more precise statement, to account specifically for the above listed forms, would be:

$$(6) \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{nuc} \\ +\text{ant} \\ +\text{cor} \\ -\text{nas} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-\text{voice}] \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{ant} \\ +\text{cor} \end{bmatrix} + \ \_\_$$

Modifications of this formulation would probably be required in order to accommodate it to a greater variety of forms (other than these verbs) or to fit it within a broader rule schema. Also, it would need to be stated in variable terms, since it does not seem to be the case that for each informant the process operates on all or none of the members of the class and certainly not for the sample as a whole. Since the nonstandard usage is apparently strictly a phonological rule extension, the verbs of this class will not be treated further in this investigation.

7.4.3 *Sit*

Another case that will be considered here but not included in later sections on variation is the verb *sit*, with its past form *sat*. The reason it will be omitted from discussions of variation is that it exhibits none -- the standard variant, *sat*, never occurs in this corpus. In both the preterit and past participle, the form used is *set*, as in:

(7) a. We *set* there one day for three hours straight. 6:11

b. They *set* in the back seat of my car and got stoned off the paint. 155:20

It is possible that the lack of variation is due to a gap in the data; that is, the informants who did not produce any tokens of this particular verb might well have a different past form. Such information would be of interest, if it were available.

Despite the fact that no claim for categorical usage of this form can be made, there is reason to conclude that it is quite extensive and perhaps the predominant form of the area. Of the 52 informants in this sample, 33 used set as a past tense one or more times, so the nature of the data cannot simply be attributed to use by just a few speakers. It is also not based on a small number of tokens since the form occurred 71 times as a preterit and 4 times with a past participle function. In addition, although this was not tabulated, at least some (and perhaps most) instances of sit in other tenses were realized as set. This could mean that the verbs sit and set are coalescing into one, with set being adopted as the surface realization. This would then account for the lack of difference in shape between the past and present for those speakers who demonstrate the feature. This extension of set to include sit is attested by the Linguistic Atlas studies in other areas as well as in West Virginia, as reported in Atwood (1953:21). It seems likely, then, that what was found in this sample is generalizable and would be typical of the area.

7.4.4 Categorical Usage of Standard Forms

There is one further case that should be mentioned at this point in order to fully characterize the patterns of irregular verbs in AE. It is again related to the lack of variation, but in this instance, the categorical aspect is standard usage. These are the irregular verbs whose past forms occurred in the corpus but always in standard form. Table 43 presents a list of such verbs, with their total number of occurrences in parentheses, grouped according to Hoard and Sloat's classification scheme, discussed earlier. This was done to facilitate later references when the nature of nonstandard usage is considered within the context of this classification. In the table, the major division between internal sandhi verbs and ablauting/umlauting verbs is represented by the categories A and B, A referring to the classes found in Hoard and Sloat 1971 (internal sandhi) and B those in Hoard and Sloat 1973 (ablaut/umlaut). The roman

A.	II	III	IV	V	VI
	keep (181)	put (228)	shoot (119)	build (54)	leave (100)
	feel (39)	cut (87)	bite* (19)	send (21)	lose (56)
	sleep (22)	hit (82)	feed (16)	spend (11)	
	mean (9)	let (37)	meet (16)	bend (9)	
	sweep (1)	quit (30)	hide* (13)		
	creep (1)	hurt (22)	slide (9)		
	deal (1)	beat* (16)	read (7)		
		set (15)	lead (3)		
		split (7)			
		cost (7)			
		shut (5)			
# Standard / Total	7/7	11/15	8/9	4/4	2/2

*preterit only

B.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	none	tell (327)	ring (2)	find (160)	none	shake (4)	none
		think (259)	spring (1)	stick (21)			
		catch (101)		win (17)			
		buy (57)		dig (9)			
		sell (23)		stand (9)			
		teach (21)		strike (6)			
		swear (6)		swing (3)			
		choose (2)		understand (3)			
		fight (2)		sling (2)			
				wind (2)			
				spin (1)			
# Standard / Total	0/6	9/20	2/9	11/13	0/6	1/4	0/3

Other: have (1422)
say (996)
make (199)

Table 43. Irregular Verbs with Categorical Standard Realizations of Past Forms by Class

numeral headings for each class correspond to those described in Section 7.3.1 and 7.3.2. One class is omitted, I in category A, since it includes those verbs with devoiced past endings (i.e. burnt) which have already been considered (Section 7.4.2). Generally, the verbs listed had no nonstandard usage in either the preterit or the past participle. The three marked with an asterisk, however (beat, bite, hide), are included for the preterit only since the participle forms do not fit the patterns of the class and are used nonstandardly.

From the table, some general observations can be made which will be useful later. The line of figures below each section represents the proportion of verbs with only standard past forms to the total number of verbs from the class that were attested in the corpus. From this, it can be seen that a far greater number of ablauting/umlauting verbs (B) have nonstandard alternates in AE than the internal sandhi verbs of A. Although these figures bear no direct relationship to the likelihood that an individual member of a class will have a particular representation, one might expect the degree of nonstandard usage for certain of the B verbs to be somewhat higher than that of other B verbs and undoubtedly greater than those in A. More precise characteristics of the nonstandard use of irregular verb patterns in this variety will be dealt with shortly. The purpose of this discussion was simply to show some gross patterns in the verbs whose past tenses were invariably standard.

7.5 Patterns of Variation in the Irregular Verbs

In our discussion so far, the existence of variation in the use of irregular verbs in AE has been established. In this section, we will examine certain patterns that emerge from this variation through implicational analysis, one method for representing such patterning (DeCamp 1971). This analytical procedure, in addition to providing an organizational principle for the data, has become an integral component of treatments of language change as it effectively reveals stages in development. Its usefulness here will then tend to lend support to the connection between variability in the irregular verb system and change in progress.

7.5.1 Implicational Relationships

Although we have discussed implicational analysis previously (cf. Section 2.2.2) it will be reviewed and extended here briefly because of our dependence on this framework in the subsequent discussion. It will be recalled that a relationship of implication basically involves the existence of one form "implying" the existence of another. That is, such a relation, in its purest sense, holds when a form, B, is always present when another form, A, is found (but not vice versa). This is symbolized as A ⊃ B, "A implies B". "Form" is here used in a loose way since this type of relation in language can apply to any number of linguistic entities, including rules, classes of forms, environments for a rule, etc. In a two-valued system, where + would indicate presence and - absence, the above relation would be attested by a representation of some data set which looked like (8):

(8)

A	B
-	-
-	+
+	+

A row which indicated +A and -B would be considered deviant from the pattern and in this simple case, would probably nullify the hypothesis that an implicational relationship held between A and B. If more than two items were implicationally related (thus increasing the number of columns), all pluses to the right of a plus and all minuses to the left of a minus would be expected in any given row to conform to the pattern. The horizontal dimension of a table like that in (8) in linguistics usually consists of the lects as represented by various informants, either in groups or by individuals. (The question of group vs. individual analysis is a somewhat controversial issue that will not be dealt with here. Sources that treat this include Bickerton 1973, Wolfram 1974a, and Berdan 1975.)

Due to problems inherent in attempts to classify linguistically variable items in a binary way, three- and subsequently many-valued implicational charts have been proposed. (See Fasold 1971 for a discussion of this development.) In a three-valued scale, variable usage is allowed for, in addition to categorical presence and absence, most often represented as X, 1 and 0 respectively. In this case, the "ideal" chart would contain in a given row only 1s to the right of a 1, only 0s to the left of a 0, and Xs only in between instances of 1 and 0. Thus a row in such a chart could look like (9):

(9) 0 0 X X X 1 1

But not like (10):

(10) 0 X X 1 X 1 0

The many-valued scale usually involves percentages or some other graded representation of the data and ideally adheres to the principle that values to the right of a given figure should be larger and those to the left should be smaller. The many-valued scale, of course, places the greatest requirements on the data for conformity to the pattern.

Implicational relationships are a basic part of the "wave model" of language change (Bailey 1973) in which language variation (geographical, social, stylistic, etc.) is viewed within a dynamic framework. According to Bailey's model, the process of linguistic change involves a move from categorical presence or absence, through a period of variability, to the polar opposite categorical value. This variability is characterized by implicational relationships among the forms undergoing the change which indicate its directionality in terms of how the parts of the system are ordered with respect to the change. In this way, later developments are said to "imply" earlier ones and the variation represented implicationally characterizes these relationships. The spread of a change is likened to a wave moving not only through time but also through geographical and social space. At any given point in time, then, the origin (where the change was initiated) will be most advanced, with progressively lesser degrees of change at each "wave" further away until one is reached that has not been affected at all. (See Bailey 1973 for amplification of this very brief overview of the wave model.)

The dynamic aspect of variation has not been accepted by all. Berdan (1975:188), for example, questions the validity of inferring directionality and change from a simple display of variability. However, in the case of irregular verb usage in AE, there seems to be enough independent evidence from the history of English (discussed in the first section) to support such a connection between variation and language change. It is unlikely that the variability observed in the data is unrelated to the long term evolution of the English verb system.

7.5.2 Implicational Relationships Among Verb Classes

In order to investigate the nature of implicational relationships underlying irregular verb usage in AE, a classification of verbs is required. This is needed because, with the large number of verbs and informants, an analysis based on individual items would have been not only unwieldy but probably inconclusive. Despite the fact that the data base is fairly large, such an analysis would have had many instances where data were lacking, simply because each informant did not use the full range of verbs. In addition, using such a method would presume that none of the verbs had anything in common that would play a role in how they were used and how change affected them. Even with just a cursory look at the data, this would not seem to be the case.

The categorization of irregular verbs given in the work of Hoard and Sloat (1971, 1973), discussed in Sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2, proved useful for these purposes. As we have seen, this system groups verbs into classes based on their derivational properties, the processes that determine the underlying shape of the preterit or past participle of an irregular verb. In the present analysis, the verbs were separated by function (preterit or past participle). This was done because it turned out that, although the classes are based on both forms of the verb, in many cases the processes for forming each differ and the usage in AE differed also.

The charts to be presented here are based on a three-valued analysis (using 0 for no nonstandard usage, X for variable standard/nonstandard usage and 1 for all nonstandard usage). The assignment of these figures was determined by the representation, per informant, of the particular past forms for a given class of verbs. For example, an informant who used five preterits from one of the classes would be assigned to 1, X, or 0 for that class as follows. If all five were standard in form, the entry would be 0, and if all five were nonstandard, it would be 1. If any mixture of the two occurred, such as three standard and two nonstandard, including the cases where a single verb is used both ways, the value would be X. Due to the nature of the data, it was decided that percentage figures could not be counted on to be reliable, since they could vary so widely depending on the number of verbs and the number of instances of each verb observed for a speaker. A many-valued scale, then, was judged to be too uncertain to be relied on as an accurate reflection of the sample beyond the immediate data. However, it is assumed that the variable (X) cells would conform to the pattern of the many-valued implicational scales. That is, the relative frequencies in adjacent cells should maintain the left to right order of lower to higher percentages of nonstandard use. Because of the nature of the data, percentage figures were not expected to be reliable measures of nonstandard use. They are given in parentheses for the variable cells, however, to show that the basic pattern of relative frequencies does seem to hold.

Table 44 shows the implicational array by informants (listed by number in the left most column) for the classes of preterits. To facilitate the observation of these relationships in terms of actual verbs, an example from each class is listed above its column heading. Since the nonstandard uses for the category A from Hoard and Sloat were minimal (see Table 43) the classes were collapsed into one which is simply headed "A". The other roman numeral headings refer to the seven classes within category B. The implicational pattern which emerges from this chart for the classes would take the following form:

(11) IV ⊃ VI ⊃ II ⊃ A ⊃ V ⊃ VII ⊃ I ⊃ III

That is, the class whose members are most likely to be used nonstandardly is III (come, run, give, etc.) and least likely is IV (dig, win, find, etc.). This pattern predicts that if nonstandard realizations are observed in one of the groups, they should also be found in all groups to the right.

The circled cells are those which do not fit the pattern. They show variation or categoricality where it is not predicted and are deviant with respect to the ideal scale. This model could require the appropriate patterning of 0's, X's and 1's both vertically and horizontally. For our purposes, the deviations were marked only in terms of the horizontal match with the pattern, since this dimension involves the linguistic categories, with the implications for change which are of interest here. The vertical dimension in this case defines the relationships among informants and presents a relatively consistent pattern. For the most part, the deviant cells vertically coincide with those indicated horizontally. The number of deviations figures into a measure of how closely a given scale

	(find) IV	(get) VI	(break) II	(keep) A	(know) V	(do) VII	(give) I	(run) III
70,77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
158	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	X(11)
150	-	0	0	0	-	-	0	X(50)
87, 75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
148	0	0	0	0	-	-	0	1
61	-	0	-	0	-	-	-	1
154	0	0	0	0	0	0	X(14)	0
156	0	0	0	0	1	0	X(20)	X(66)
4	0	0	X(9)	0	0	0	X(24)	X(70)
74	-	0	X(12)	0	0	0	X(33)	X(38)
152	0	0	0	0	0	0	X(3[illegible])	X(80)
46	0	0	0	0	0	-	X(50)	X(20)
151	0	0	0	0	0	0	X(59)	X(49)
43	-	X(4)	0	X(16)	0	0	X(60)	X(56)
49	0	0	0	0	0	0	X(64)	X(91)
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	X(71)	X(72)
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	X(33)
29	0	0	0	0	0	X(11)	X(33)	X(24)
155	0	0	0	0	0	X(12)	X(20)	X(48)
149	0	0	0	0	0	X(14)	X(18)	X(11)
51	0	0	0	0	0	X(25)	X(33)	X(90)
160	0	X(36)	0	0	0	X(33)	X(50)	X(71)
47	0	0	X(10)	0	0	X(33)	X(50)	X(88)
48	0	0	0	0	0	X(33)	X(83)	X(41)
44	0	0	0	0	0	X(33)	1	X(91)
32	0	X(6)	0	0	0	X(60)	X(83)	X(83)
31	0	0	0	0	0	X(66)	X(48)	X(88)
35	0	0	0	0	-	1	X(60)	X(71)
17	0	0	X(5)	0	0	1	X(71)	X(11)
64	-	0	0	0	0	X(50)	X(25)	1
37	0	0	0	0	X(12)	0	X(23)	X(25)
6	0	0	0	0	X(33)	0	1	X(53)
66	0	0	0	0	X(33)	X(25)	X(66)	X(16)
73	0	0	0	0	X(50)	X(50)	X(88)	X(96)
65	0	0	0	0	X(50)	1	X(75)	X(50)
2	0	0	0	0	X(60)	0	X(33)	X(7)
83	0	0	0	0	X(60)	1	X(66)	X(50)
159	0	0	0	0	X(66)	X(33)	X(53)	X(93)
153	0	0	0	0	1	X(66)	X(81)	X(96)
22	0	0	0	0	X(80)	1	X(96)	1

	IV	VI	II	A	V	VII	I	III
157	0	0	0	X(3)	1	X(77)	X(87)	X(90)
164	0	0	0	X(9)	X(50)	X(60)	X(88)	X(88)
36	0	0	0	X(10)	1	X(77)	X(94)	X(98)
30	0	0	0	X(17)	1	X(33)	X(50)	X(73)
1	0	0	0	X(2)	X(75)	X(33)	X(60)	1
146	0	0	0	X(4)	-	1	X(90)	1
85	0	0	0	X(14)	1	X(50)	1	1
80	0	0	X(6)	X(7)	X(50)	0	X(90)	X(77)
10	0	0	X(12)	0	X(75)	X(44)	X(70)	X(96)
124	0	0	X(7)	X(19)	X(8)	0	X(63)	1

Table 44. Implicational Scale for Classes of Preterit Forms in AE

approximates the model or its "scalability". This measure is a percentage calculated by dividing the number of non-deviant cells by the total number of filled cells. Those who use this measure usually consider 85 or 90 per cent to indicate an acceptable scale. The method has, however, received a good deal of criticism and is considered here to be an indication of the relative goodness of fit to the model, but not as proof positive of the validity of the scale.

Measuring deviation on the horizontal scale only, Table 44 has a scalability of 92.5 per cent, with 399 filled cells and 30 deviations. Due to the nature of the data, a number of the deviations (13) are *1*'s or *0*'s which are based on one or two instances of a single verb. It is likely that, in at least some of these cases, more data would improve the fit by making these cells variable. The scalability would increase to 94.8 per cent if such deviations were eliminated. Neither figure is absolute but they give an indication that the data as arranged does scale reasonably well.

The use of past participles in AE was separated for determination of implicational relationships and the resulting chart is presented in Table 45. As in the last chart, the roman numerals refer to the classes of category *B* verbs from Hoard and Sloat and examples are given above each column. An additional class, labeled *S*, represents the suppletive past participle of *go* which is not included in these classes, but often took the nonstandard form *went* in AE. Category *A* verbs are absent from this table since the only ones which varied from the standard were *bite*, *hide* and *beat* and these items, for the participle, belong instead in Class I of category *B*. The implicational relationships as they emerge from this scale are:

(12) $IV \supset III \supset II \supset VII \supset I \supset V \supset S \supset VI$

The fact that the classes for the participle order differently from those for the preterit provides some justification for separating the two. A comparison of the two tables shows that the informants are ordered differently as well. A striking example is informant 77 who uses only standard preterit forms but only nonstandard participles.

Since the use of the past participle was much less extensive than that of the preterit, the data base underlying this table is much smaller.

	(find)	(run)	(break)	(do)	(give)	(know)	(go)	(get)
	IV	III	II	VII	I	V	S	VI
70	0	-	0	0	0	-	-	0
158	-	0	0	0	0	-	-	0
160	-	-	X(33)	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	-	0	-	-	-	-	-
32	0	X(50)	X(22)	0	0	0	0	0
48	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	1
149	-	-	0	0	0	0	X(80)	1
87	0	-	-	0	0	0	1	1
65	-	-	X(75)	0	0	0	1	1
61	-	-	0	0	0	0	1	1
44	-	-	0	-	0	-	1	-
155	0	0	0	0	0	X(33)	-	1
29	-	-	0	0	X(25)	-	1	X(66)
159	-	0	0	0	X(55)	0	X(75)	1
35	0	0	0	0	X(42)	1	1	1
2	0	-	-	-	X(50)	1	-	1
146	0	-	0	-	X(60)	-	-	1
156	0	0	-	-	X(63)	-	1	1
83	-	0	0	0	1	-	1	X(75)
152	0	-	0	0	1	0	1	1
30	-	0	0	-	1	0	1	1
7	0	-	-	-	1	0	1	1
74	0	0	-	-	1	-	-	1
150	-	-	0	X(66)	-	-	-	1
40	0	0	X(33)	X(20)	X(40)	X(50)	X(16)	X(50)
64	-	0	X(20)	0	X(25)	-	0	1
46	-	0	X(50)	-	0	-	0	1
154	0	-	X(63)	-	0	0	-	1
1	-	-	X(66)	-	0	-	-	1
28	-	0	X(25)	1	X(75)	X(33)	1	1
22	-	0	X(50)	1	X(12)	X(50)	1	1
164	0	-	X(50)	-	X(33)	-	1	1
10	0	-	X(75)	-	-	-	1	-
124	-	-	X(50)	-	-	1	-	1
31	0	0	X(33)	-	X(50)	1	1	1
153	-	0	X(50)	0	1	1	1	1
85	1	-	X(66)	X(50)	0	1	1	1
66	0	-	X(50)	1	-	0	1	1
36	0	0	1	-	X(40)	1	1	1

	(find) IV	(run) III	(break) II	(do) VI	(give) I	(know) V	(go) S	(get) VI
37	0	X(25)	X(66)	X(14)	X(13)	0	X(25)	0
151	-	X(50)	X(11)	0	-	0	X(50)	X(80)
157	-	X(20)	X(14)	X(16)	X(41)	1	1	1
17	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
80	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
51	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1
49	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
77	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
75	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
148	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 45. Implicational Scale for Classes of Past Participle Forms in AE

This leads to some problems in the construction of the scale and in the ensuing interpretation. The large number of unfilled cells is an indication of the need for more data. It is unlikely, however, that more data would cause great changes in the nature of the patterns that appear. The most that would probably happen is a reversal in order of adjacent columns which in this table have a relatively high incidence of empty cells. Taking into account this difficulty by counting only the number of filled cells the table still shows a scalability of 89.1 per cent. This is improved to 93.4 per cent when the deviant cells which are based on only one or two instances of a single verb are eliminated.

7.5.3 Patterns of Language Change

In addition to showing underlying relationships in the use of irregular verb forms in AE, these tables point to patterns of language change. Informants can be grouped into language varieties, each of which has in common the extent to which the change has progressed. In this case, the change is assumed to be moving from standard to nonstandard, a direction which is supported by historical evidence. These varieties, indicated in the preceding tables by the separations between groups of speakers, are summarized in Table 46. The rows which have indications of informant numbers are based on total figures on the nonstandard usage by those informants as a group. The variety marked by an asterisk are those which are unattested in the data but should exist to complete the pattern according to the theory proposed by Bailey (1973). It is possible that the only rows unattested in our data are those that are nonexistent because the change has not progressed beyond a certain point within this variety. This appears to be the case for the usage of preterits. It may well hold for the participle as well since those separated from the main bloc are composed of informants who supplied very few instances of this tense form, resulting in an inconclusive pattern (see Table 45). For this reason, their position with respect to the change in progress is extremely tentative and so they are listed in parentheses. More data on these speakers could easily show their actual classification to be somewhat different.

There are certain theoretical problems in constructing a summary of the data according to the model adopted here. The first involves

(a) Preterit

Informants	(find) IV	(get) VI	(break) II	(keep) A	(know) V	(do) VII	(give) I	(run) III
70, 77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
158, 150, 87, 75, 148, 61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X
154, 156, 4, 74, 152, 46, 151, 40, 49, 28, 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	X
29, 155, 149, 51, 160, 47 48, 44, 32, 31, 35, 17, 64	0	0	0	0	0	X	X	X
37, 6, 66, 73, 65, 2, 83, 159, 153, 22	0	0	0	0	X	X	X	X
157, 164, 36, 30, 1, 146, 85	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X
80, 10, 124	0	0	X	X	X	X	X	X

(b) Participle

Informants	(find) IV	(run) III	(break) II	(do) VII	(give) I	(know) V	(go) S	(got) VI
70, 158, 160, 6, 32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X
149, 87, 65, 61, 44	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	X

(b) Participle (con't)

Informants	(find) IV	(run) III	(break) II	(do) VII	(give) I	(know) V	(go) S	(got) VI
155	0	0	0	0	0	X	X	X
29, 159, 35, 2, 146, 156, 83, 152, 30, 7, 74	0	0	0	0	X	X	X	X
150	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X
40, 64, 46, 154, 1, 28, 22, 164, 10, 124, 31, 153, 85, 66, 36	0	0	X	X	X	X	X	X
37, 151, 157, 17	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
*	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
*	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1
*	X	X	X	X	X	X	1	1
*	X	X	X	X	X	1	1	1
?(75, 51)	X	X	X	X	1	1	1	1
?(80, 148)	X	X	X	1	1	1	1	1
?(49, 77)	X	X	1	1	1	1	1	1
*	X	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Table 46. Pattern of Change for Irregular Verbs in AE

aggregating the informants into different varieties. Whether or not this can or should be done will not be dealt with here. The problem to be considered is rather how it should be done. The ideal pattern, according to Bailey's theory, is shown in full in Table 46b. The situation it predicts is one where the linguistic entities (here verb classes) represented by the columns take on values as follows: Before the inception of a change, they all have values corresponding to categorical absence of the change (in this case, 0). As the change progresses, the columns, beginning with the last one to the right, show variable presence (X) of the new form, with each row adding that value to a column further left. When all columns indicate variability, the rightmost one can then move to categorical presence of the change (1), which then spreads to the left again. Finally, the completion of the change is reached when all columns have become categorical (1). This progression typifies the Bailey wave model (see, for example, Bailey 1973:70-71).

The problem arises in grouping informants according to this ideal pattern. In Bailey's illustrations of the wave model, the rows never have a mixture of more than two values (0 and X or X and 1). However, a row with all 3 possible values can still represent the appropriate implicational relationships and is in fact needed for a number of the informants in our sample. To give an example of the problem, the pattern of preterit usage for informant 1 takes the following form:

(13) 0 0 0 X X X X 1

The question for cases like this is how to decide which group the speaker belongs to, either

(14) 0 0 0 X X X X X

or

(15) X X X X X X X 1

There seems to be no principle in the theory for making such a decision, but it seems unlikely that it could rule out a pattern like that of informant 1. In order to be consistent in dealing with cases like this, the decision was made to group informants on the basis of how far through the classes of verbs the change had progressed, that is, according to the furthest column to the left that had a value other than 0. This places informant 1 in the first of the two possibilities listed.

This problem is intensified when there are empty cells in the chart due to gaps in the data. In some cases, the theory can be used to predict how these would be filled, assuming that more data would confirm the prediction. For example, if an unfilled cell occurred between two cells with identical values, the theory would predict the same value for that cell also. In many cases, however, the empty cells occur in positions where more than one value would still conform to the pattern being developed. And, where several such cells are adjacent, the indeterminacy is heightened. It appears that the only solution available requires obtaining more data to fill the cells. For this discussion, the exact placement of individual informants where this problem exists will be given only speculatively. It is assumed that the data is substantial enough to support the implicational ordering of the verb classes and that more data would support this, though it might well indicate that the classification of informants would need to be altered.

There is some independent evidence that would tend to confirm the ordering of classes found here, as indicated in the first section where historical aspects of the irregular verbs of English were discussed. A very clear instance of this support occurs in the pattern of classes for the participle forms. According to this pattern, the verbs that are most likely to have nonstandard past participle variants in use are the members of class VI which includes get. The nonstandard form for the participle of get is simply got. However, this form appears to be nonstandard only within varieties of American English, since, as Pyles (1964:200) reports, got is the standard past participle in British English. Thus, this aspect of change in the irregular verb participles is more advanced for British English than for standard form of American English, and the AE variety falls somewhere in between.

7.5.4 Further Implicational Relationships

An issue that has been raised in connection with analyses of language variation, both according to variable rules and implicational scales, concerns the validity of the constraints proposed for a given variable (Bickerton 1971, Fasold 1975). Normally, it would be expected that constraints which make sense on a linguistic basis and which uncover an underlying pattern in the data under consideration would be the appropriate ones. This appears to be the case with the verb classes used in showing implicational relationships for the irregular verb forms found in this sample of AE. The classes are based on the derivation of the irregular past forms and seem linguistically justifiable as influences on how nonstandard usage of items would be distributed with respect to change in the system.

There are other ways of looking at the data that would also provide insight to underlying patterns. One possibility that was considered was the relative frequency of various verbs. This did not turn out to be significant with respect to nonstandard usage, as was mentioned earlier. An investigation of individual verbs would require much more data than is presently available for analysis. A line of investigation which did prove fruitful, however, was one which dealt with the nonstandard variants in terms of how they differ from the standard form. A description of these various types has already been given, in Section 7.4.1. At this time, we will consider the patterns of variation with respect to the groups of verbs that typically undergo these processes in their nonstandard forms.

The procedure for constructing an implicational scale on this basis is slightly different than for those presented earlier. The modes of difference between standard and nonstandard variants to be included are listed in (16) (Table 42 gives extensive examples):

(16) a. use of a preterit form for the past participle (got, went)
b. use of the bare root form in the past (eat, give)
c. use of a past participle form for the preterit (seen, done)
d. use of a regularized form (knowed, heared)
e. use of a different strong form (drug, brung)

Since the classification by type refers to resultant surface forms, there is no need to separate preterits and past participles for analysis. Some processes occur for both, others are specific to one (i.e. 16a and 16c). This has an advantage of eliminating any effect due to the discrepancy in the amount of data available for each of the two tenses. A three-valued scale is used exclusively, with the major differences outlined in terms of whether a type of nonstandard form is never used (0), used for some of the verbs that are observed to take that form (*X*), or used extensively for all the verbs that are eligible (*1*). Percentages were not calculated for this part of the analysis, since as in the previous analysis, the precise figures could not practically be expected to be reliable. For this purpose, only verbs that actually occurred in a nonstandard form in the corpus were included in the determination of the values for each informant.

The implicational relationships among the types are displayed in Table 47. The scalability of this table with 11 deviations (horizontally) turns out to be 95.6 per cent, excluding as before the unfilled cells. Some observations can be made based on the patterns which emerge. In terms of degree of stigmatization, it appears that using a preterit form for a past participle function (i.e. *have broke*) would be most acceptable. (This category includes *got* which was discussed earlier in terms of its acceptability.) Regularized forms (i.e. *knowed*) and different strong forms (i.e. *brung*), when viewed this way, turn out to be least acceptable. Considering these results in terms of gross patterns of change, it would appear that leveling in those verbs with non-identical preterit and past participle standard forms precedes the actual regularization (to the productive suffix) of the irregular verbs of English.

The question now arises concerning the reconciliation of these two types of classification, both of which produce relatively "good" implicational scales. In terms of the scalability percentages, the latter set of implicational relationships fares somewhat better. However, the figures do not seem significantly different and, in any case, they are judged to be too imprecise to serve as a metric for choosing between two analyses on the basis of a few percentage points. What appears to be happening in this situation is an interaction between the two systems of classification. This interaction has two dimensions. First, while the participial forms can be divided into classes which implicationally are related, as a group they behave similarly by having a relatively greater degree of nonstandard usage in the corpus. In addition, they most often show one type of nonstandard form, the use of the preterit. Secondly, within the class of preterits, there is a certain degree of relationship between the derivational class a verb belongs to and the type of nonstandard form it is most

Informant	Different Strong Form	Regularized Form	Participle For Preterit	Bare Root Form	Preterit for Participle
70	0	0	0	0	0
158	0	0	0	X	0
77	0	0	0	0	X
148, 61, 150	-	-	-	X	X
75, 152	0	0	0	X	X
87	-	0	0	1	X
44, 7, 46, 151, 66, 29	0	0	X	X	X
4	0	0	X	X	-
48, 149	X	0	X	X	X
154	0	0	X	0	X
64	0	0	X	1	X
51, 49	0	0	X	X	1
160, 1, 157, 2, 155, 32, 31, 28, 37, 35, 40, 83, 159	0	X	X	X	X
6	0	X	X	X	-
156, 80, 17	X	X	X	X	X
164, 65	X	X	1	X	X
47	X	X	X	X	-
10, 124	X	X	X	X	1

Informant	Different Strong Form	Regularized Form	Participle For Preterit	Bare Root Form	Preterit for Participle
74	X	0	X	X	1
85, 153	X	X	X	1	1
22	X	X	1	1	1
36	0	X	1	1	1
73	0	X	1	1	-
146, 30	X	X	1	1	X

Table 47. Implication Scale for Irregular Verb Forms in AE by Type of Nonstandard Form

likely to take. This latter point needs more careful investigation in order to determine the exact nature of this relationship and its linguistic bases. A rough display of the intersection between these two modes of classification is given in Table 48. The items enclosed in parentheses are verbs which occurred fewer than five times in the corpus and so are less reliable in terms of generalizability. The close correspondence between derivation classes and type of nonstandard alternate would appear to account for the existence of two sets of implicational relationships. However, since the correspondence is non-isomorphic, neither set of relationships alone can be thought of as providing a complete analysis.

7.6 Conclusion

This analysis gives an indication that implicational relationships can be very complex and can involve more than one set of constraints, each of which is linguistically sound and gives a reasonable pattern. However, in this case at least, it appears that the two sets which fit the data are interrelated and in some way together account for the underlying patterns in the data. How the nature of implicational analysis can be modified to accommodate data like that observed here needs to be worked out. It may be that more than two dimensions are required to account for this type of situation. The present data are unfortunately insufficient to investigate this possibility since it would involve a very large number of cells. It seems clear, also, that when an implicational analysis is undertaken, all forms of classification that are linguistically appropriate to the data set should be investigated since, as in this case, more than one might prove to account for the data.

The relationship between nonstandard irregular verb usage in AE and the linguistic categories described above provides a basis for analyzing the patterning of verb usage in this variety. There do not appear to be other sociolinguistic constraints that influence the degree of nonstandard usage, at least within this sample. For example, within the last seven rows of Table 47, the informants listed include 5 females aged 8 to 83 and 5 males aged 11 to 60. These informants are presumably among those with the greatest use of nonstandard forms and this distribution of age and sex would tend to indicate that these variables are not significant

Derivational Class	Type of Non-Standard Form				
	Preterit for Participle	Bare Root Form	Participle for Preterit	Regularized Form	Different Strong Form
A				heared (shedded) (lighted) (bursted) (betted) (spreaded)	hearn
I	saw bit ate beat gave forgave wrote drove rode hid	eat give	seen	eated	
II	froze tore stole woke broke wore (spoke)		broken		brung
III	ran came drank (swam)	run come become begin (swim)	drunk (sunk)	drinked	
IV				(hanged) (stinged)	
V	threw grew flew		grown	blowed throwed knowed growed drawed	
VI	got took forgot		taken (mistaken)		tuck
VII	did tell (redid)		done		
Other	went			borned	drug net

Table 48. Intersection of Derivational Classes and Types of Nonstandard Forms

in the variation under discussion. There is undoubtedly an effect stemming from socio-economic status, particularly since the forms are to varying degrees stigmatized. Due to the relative homogeneity of our sample with respect to this factor, however, it is not possible to provide detailed evidence for this type of influence.

In summary, irregular verb usage in AE patterns according to the linguistic categories of derivational class, taken from the work of Hoard and Sloat (1971, 1973) and also according to type of nonstandard form. This patterning, along with historical evidence and observations on other varieties of English, points to a potential situation of change in progress. In addition, the results of the analysis pose certain questions for the methodology of implicational analysis due to the apparent interaction of two sets of constraints. As Labov et al (1968) found, there is a "wide range of variation" but, unlike their conclusions from data on a nonmainstream variety, the present sample would seem to "show system", (Labov et al 1968:257) in the irregular verbs.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FOOTNOTES

1. Presumably, such a stage would have one productive inflectional past ending, common to both preterit and past participles, with no irregularities, given the tendency of natural language to move toward a system that is in some way simpler. However, it is not possible to predict that this would be the exact shape a resolution would take since concomitant changes in other aspects of the language as well as social factors can affect the direction of a change.

2. The qualification"potential" is added here and should be kept in mind throughout the following sections. It is possible that what we call change in progress is actually a relatively stable variable phenomenon that may not lead to completion of changes in the overall system. This type of situation is discussed in Fasold (1973) in terms of 'stagnant' variable rules which are social markers but not indicators of change. Given the fairly long-term existence of fluctuations in the formation of past tense irregular verbs of the same nature as those found in the present corpus, as well as the influence on maintenance of the system exerted by such factors as education and the stigmatization of the nonstandard forms, this possibility should not be ruled out.

3. As observed in the last section, over half of the irregular verbs which were used had only standard realizations. In addition, those verbs which had nonstandard variants were for the most part not limited to them; they also appeared, to varying extents, in their standard form. The overlap between the varieties in this area is thus fairly substantial.

4. In a later article, Hoard and Sloat (1973:113) revise their position on the underlying form of the past morpheme, preferring instead to posit an underlying /d/ and a rule of devoicing. This derivation, taken from their earlier article, would then require appropriate modifications.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PERFECTIVE DONE

8.0 Introduction

The use of done as a kind of "perfective" marker has been noticed in analyses of a number of varieties of English originally derived from the South. This feature also occurs in AE, and though there may be some differences between varieties in the details of this operation, this marker generally seems to be a part of many non-mainstream English systems.

The feature in question is the use of done in constructions like those given in (1):

(1) a. I done forgot when it opened. 159:22
b. And the doctor done give him up, said he's got pneumonia. 22:12
c. ...because the one that was in there had done rotted. 35:21
d. We thought he was done gone. 51:11
e. If she had, she woulda done left me a long time ago. 30:29

The pattern which the usage of done typically follows can be seen in the examples cited in (1). It can occur along with a past form of the verb, as in (1a, b) or it can intervene in a complex verb phrase which consists of an auxiliary and a main verb, including a modal, as in (1c-e).

8.1 Other Treatments of Done

Some investigators (Feagin forthcoming) have suggested a more restricted context for the distribution of this marker, specifying, for example, that it is only followed by the past participial form of a verb. However, in these data from AE, the existence of pairs like the utterances in (2) would seem to make such a restriction unsuitable, since both the preterit and past participial forms of take are found in construction with done.

(2) a. ...and then she done taken two courses again. 83:7
b. ...she done took the baby away from her. 159:38

Even if a restriction such as that suggested by Feagin were found, it could only be made with reference to the irregular verbs in English, since for regular verbs, the two past forms are identical. However, the variation in the past forms of irregular verbs in AE (see Chapter Seven) complicates the matter further. As we saw in Chapter Seven, the preterit and past participial forms of irregular verbs often change functions in AE, so that the precise identification of the grammatical function of the verb form being used with done becomes even more difficult. For instance, for the verb take found in (2), the forms took and taken were each observed to be used both as a preterit and as a past participle. It seems, then, that the appropriate generalization is simply that done is normally associated with a past form of the main verb which may have a preterit or a past participial function.

Another restriction in distribution that might be considered involves the possibility that done occurs only in complex verb phrases where have deletion has taken place (cf. Section 3.2.2). Such an interpretation would claim that (3a) is derived from (3b) through the phonological process of have deletion.

(3) a. I done forgot some of them stories. 49:19
b. I have done forgot some of them stories.

While it might be expected that some cases of done do occur within verb phrases that have undergone have deletion, it cannot be claimed that all cases of done occur in such phrases. There are several cases that support this argument. First, we observe that done also occurs with an auxiliary other than have, as in (4):

(4) He was done gone. 51:11

Given sentences like (4), any explanation of done cannot rest solely on its co-occurrence with have and so nothing is gained by positing have-deletion. Secondly, there are examples in the data in which a true perfective construction is disallowed, due to an accompanying clause as in:

(5) ...and I come back by the house and done got my feet wet. 146:27

In (5), the intent is for the action of the two clauses to have occurred simultaneously or immediately sequentially. This would not be a possible reading if the second clause contained a form of have, since then the clause with the perfective would be seen as temporally preceding the other clause. Thus, the number of contexts in which done can occur is not reducible and this analysis will consider done as an independent element introduced into clauses of the types exemplified above.

Other researchers have commented on the probable differences between English varieties in the use of done. Dillard (1972:220) suggests that Vernacular Black English may also have non-past verb forms following done, as in I done go, which are not part of non-mainstream White varieties. Although there are a few examples in our AE data which have various non-past verb forms, they appear to be exceptional and Dillard's generalization about White varieties seems to be supported.

Most analyses of done deal with its usage in Vernacular Black English, and give little attention to done beyond the level of some intuitive sort of classification and brief description of its usage. Dillard calls it simply a "preverbal form" (1972:47) and describes it as a "recent perfective" (1972:219). He discusses the structure itself only briefly since his main concern lies in historical development and comparison of varieties.

Labov (1968, 1972c) treats done in somewhat more detail. In his earlier work, he labels done a "quasi-modal" (1968:265), evidently referring to the fact that its behavior is not formally like that of other modals. In his later revision, done is seen as functioning most like an adverb, having "lost its status as a verb" in the usage described above (1972c:56). In considering its meaning, he proposes that a disjunctive meaning is required to account for this form. One component is the "perfective" sense, that in which it most "normally" occurs and is the equivalent of have (1972c:55). This is the use in which it corresponds most closely to already. The second use of done is its intensive meaning, where it corresponds to really (1972:55). In most cases, Labov maintains, these two meanings converge, but occasionally one sense occurs without the other. Two investigators of White non-mainstream varieties of English who mention done follow Labov in their descriptions, but limit the meaning to the first sense. Hackenberg (1972:150) speaks of done in Appalachian English as perfective, with the sense of already. However, his corpus contains only seven examples of the form. In a study of the verb in White Alabama English, Feagin (forthcoming) concludes that the form is clearly an adverb meaning already.

One further treatment of done is relevant to the following discussion. Scott (1973) approaches the problem of verb forms in Vernacular Black English varieties from a strictly semantic viewpoint and looks for correlations with meaning. "Pre-verbal done", in the system she sets forth, functions to indicate completion as a "focus marker" (1973:143), interacting with other factors in the system such as temporal aspects. In conjunction with these other factors, certain co-occurrence restrictions are then explained in terms of semantic incompatibility, in that done cannot be combined with forms that carry a feature of incompletion for semantic reasons.

In reviewing the above sources, it appears that none of them are essentially incorrect. All touch on certain aspects of the way done functions, though no one has yet, it seems, provided a full discussion that encompasses syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics of the way speakers use the form in a given variety. In the following discussion, we will investigate the way done operates on various levels, based on our data from AE. These data yielded over 60 examples. The problem, it turns out, is more complex than the above analyses would suggest. While describing the usage pattern of done in AE is fairly straightforward, further grammatical classification and determination of semantic and pragmatic characteristics are more problematical.

8.2 Syntactic Properties

As Labov observes (1972c:56), done has "lost its status as a verb" in the usage described above. It is uninflected for any tense marking or agreement, occurring before a verb which is inflected (with or without a preceding inflected auxiliary). Due to its position in the verb phrase and its morphological properties, there seem then to be two possibilities for the classification of done, namely as a modal or adverb. Considering, first the modal possibility, it would be instructive to examine instances of questions and negative sentences. However, there are no examples in our data of done occurring in such structures and it may be that these are not allowable combinations. If they are, it seems unlikely that done would behave like a modal in those situations, i.e., in inverting for questions and having the negative particle follow it. We would not expect, for example, to find cases like those in (6) where done is shown in the position a modal would take:

(6) a. **Done* they finished their work?

b. *They *done* not finished their work.

Done does not govern a particular form of the verb following it, as a modal or auxiliary would. The fact that the overwhelming number of cases in our data involve a past form seems to stem from independent syntactic and semantic considerations rather than a relationship of government. In addition, if Dillard's claims are accurate, the form of the verb need not even be past tense for some varieties. (Using this as evidence would assume, of course, some unity across varieties for this feature, an assumption which seems plausible but is not dealt with here.) In all our examples, the verb phrases fits the AE system syntactically when the *done* is removed, whether a single verb form in the past remains or certain modals or auxiliaries are present in addition to the verb. (This is again taking into account the variations found in the irregular verbs.)

On the other hand, there is not real convincing evidence that would point to the appropriateness of considering *done* to be an adverb, except for some vague notion of modification of the verb phrase in which it occurs. Syntactically, it does not display the distributional privileges that various types of adverbials show. For example, adverbs can typically be moved away from the verb phrase to another part of the sentence, as in (7):

(7) a. They quickly put out the fire.

b. They put out the fire quickly.

c. *Quickly*, they put out the fire.

Done, however, cannot be moved to any position other than the one it occupies in the verb phrase as in the sentences in (1) above. It is never fronted or relocated outside the clause in which it originates.

Feagin (forthcoming) mentions two potential syntactic analyses for *done* as an adverb. One, based on Lakoff (1970) shows *done* occurring as a higher sentence, *it is done*, which is then reduced to *done* and joined with the embedded sentence. The other treats *done* as one of a string of verbs in the verb phrase. Here, however, it is marked $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{Verb}\\+\text{Aux}\end{bmatrix}$ and it is unclear how this type of derivation fits in with a classification of *done* as an adverb. Since Feagin does not provide any detailed motivation for either of the analyses, they cannot be further evaluated here.

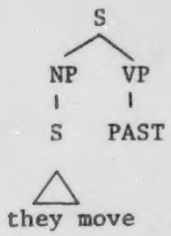
Although adverb is somewhat more satisfying as a label for done than modal, in the sense that it has less concrete evidence against it, neither classification will be adopted here. Instead, it is proposed that done be considered as an aspect marker, specifically marking the past completion of an action or event. As Wolfram and Fasold observe, done is "an additional perfective construction in some nonstandard dialects, not a substitute for present perfect tense in SE but in addition to it." (1974:152). The fact that it is not a substitute for any tense in Standard English can be seen in the following acceptable done sentences where it interacts with each of the possible tenses (having a past involved):

(8) a. She (done) sold it at noon yesterday.
b. She has (done) sold it by now.
c. She had (done) sold it by the time I got there.

The time adverbs in each sentence are highly limited in their co-occurrence with tenses and their inclusion above shows that the addition of done does not alter the restrictions that hold between the tenses and time adverbs (pointed out in McCawley 1971). Done will, of course, impose some additional restrictions on various co-occurrences due to its semantic characteristic of completiveness, which will be discussed in a later section.

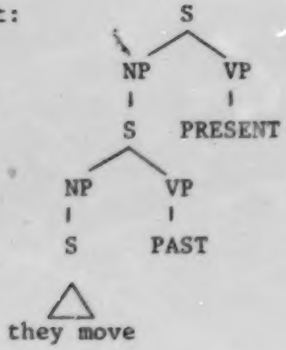
McCawley (1971) proposes an extension of Ross's analysis of auxiliaries as higher verbs to include tenses as higher verbs. In this way, he attempts to account for the simple past, present perfect and past perfect in terms of series of tenses in underlying structure. His arguments and other claims will not be reviewed here; we will accept his central proposal concerning tense since it seems fairly well motivated. This type of analysis may provide a way of handling done as an aspect marker for AE speakers. McCawley's basic claim involves positing the following types of intermediate structures to account for the tenses relevant to this discussion.

(9) a. Simple past:



They PAST move.
They moved.

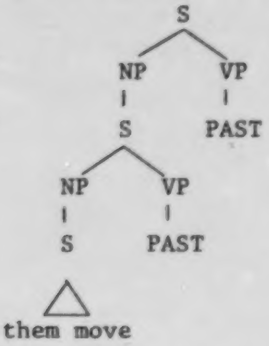
b. Present perfect:



They PRESENT PAST move.

They have moved.

c. Past perfect:



They PAST PAST move.

They had moved.

In addition, he proposes that an unlimited number of PASTs can occur and certain mechanisms make the appropriate adjustments for surface structure realizations. In this way, for example, a past perfect can represent a present perfect structure embedded under PAST as well as the past of a past. Although further details are not specified completely, it is assumed that they could be supplied. The precise formalisms are undoubtedly elusive, so no attempt will be made here to determine them. What is significant for the present discussion is rather to allow specification of an aspect marker, done, for AE speakers, however the concepts ultimately may be formulated.

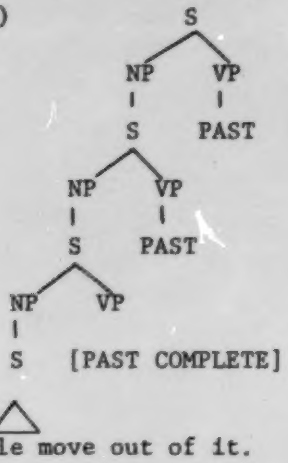
Given the underlying structures proposed by McCawley, what is needed for AE speakers who use done might be provided through certain adjustments in this schema. As mentioned above, McCawley allows an unlimited number of tenses to occur in the underlying structure, with only a restricted number of distinctions possible at the surface level. What appears to be happening in the varieties with done is that another surface distinction of aspect is possible. This can be accounted for by allowing the surface realization of another of the tenses, marked in some way, possibly by a feature or by the node label itself, so that it does not become have but rather done. One way in which this might work follows. Naturally, this is presented only very tentatively since there are still a number of unresolved issues.

As an illustration, consider (10) where done occurs with the past perfect:

(10) ...the people had done moved out of it.

Since the past perfect occurs, there must be at least two PAST's occurring in an underlying structure according to McCawley's analysis. What is proposed here is an additional tense node that will be realized as done:

(11)



Then, a number of applications of a raising transformation gives the series of tenses in the sentence:

(12) the people PAST PAST PAST-COMPLETE move out of it.

By McCawley's rules, the first tense remains, the second becomes have and then others, if present, would be deleted. Here we must allow the realization of the third tense marker as done. Thus, varieties with done have, in this way, a manner of expressing an additional distinction in aspect.

Under this analysis, the tense label needs to be differentiated from the others in some way, although it would be undoubtedly simpler if this could be eliminated. At this point, however, it seems necessary in order to avoid positing a common underlying structure for sentences with the past perfect and those with done and the simple past. Without the distinction, both would be derived from a series of two PAST's in underlying structure. For example, consider (13):

(13) a. I done killed three ground squirrels (today).

b. I *had* killed three ground squirrels (*today).

These sentences are non-synonymous (note the difference in acceptability with a time adverb) and therefore should differ somehow in their underlying representations. Also, the past perfect requires a reference point in the past to refer to while the simple past does not; its reference point for pastness is the present. The approach taken here is that of varying the node label, but it is possible that ultimately another device could prove to be a more motivated and suitable choice.

Since, in the variety under discussion, *done* occurs only with main verbs in past forms, a well-formedness condition on structures containing this aspect marker is required. It must be commanded by a higher verb PAST. This introduces a problem not yet mentioned. The above condition will provide for the necessary past form of a verb accompanying *done* in a clause, but there may be cases where the past verb can occur and *done* cannot which are also syntactically determined. McCawley's analysis involves arguments based on the occurrence of *have* as a past tense marker in reduced embedded clauses and after modals. In these cases, the perfect tenses and the simple past are neutralized on the surface, being realized as *have* and a past participle of the verb. Since a PAST would occur as a higher verb in such constructions, the present analysis so far would allow *done* to occur. Following at least certain modals, this is indeed the case, as in:

(14) If she had, she would*a done left* me a long time ago. 30:29

Although there is only one example of this in our data, Feagin (forthcoming) cites several occurrences with *shoulda* and *may have* in her White Alabama English data. The cases with reduced clauses are less clear. There are no such occurrences of *done* in our data, nor are any cited by either Feagin or Hackenberg (1972) in his study of Appalachian English. It therefore seems likely that sentences like those in (15) would be unacceptable.

(15) a. ?(*)They seem to have *done* left.

b. ?(*)John's having *done* left surprised me.

We see in (15) that *done* is restricted to unreduced clauses, since for the sentences like (15) it is not semantically ruled out, as we see in (16):

(16) a. It seems $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{like}\\ \text{that}\end{array}\right\}$ they ('ve) *done* left.

b. It surprised me that John *done* left.

Finally, it should be noted that this analysis also accounts for cases where *done* follows an auxiliary other than *have*, as in (1d) above, repeated here:

(17) We thought he was done gone. 31:11

In these instances, there is a PAST marker for the main verb which will command the marker giving done, and so the underlying structure will be well-formed with respect to done. Again, broader issues which are unresolved, in this case the representation of the passives and passive-like constructions, prevent any further attempt at detailing the mechanisms involved. What is relevant for this discussion is simply that, if the analysis of done that is suggested here is accurate, the allowance of done in cases like (17) should be relatively straightforward.

One problem arises in treating done as a tense in this way. Unlike other higher verbs (including tenses under McCawley's analysis) done would not govern a complementizer nor would it be affected by the complementizer associated with the immediately higher verb. For instance, perfective have the realization of an underlying past tense, governs the placement of the past participle marker as a complementizer into the clause embedded under it. Done, on the other hand, appears to be transparent with respect to such processes. Since the verb phrase in which done occurs is unchanged by its presence, the placement of complementizers would seem to "pass over" done when it intervenes, so that the complementizer governed by the tense above it is attached to the clause embedded under it. It is not clear at this time how great the cost would be to accomplish this transparency of done, since determining this would involve the specification in detail of all the processes involved in accounting for tense in the way McCawley suggests. Since done immediately commands the main verb, one possibility might be to allow the embedded clause to be combined with done and then proceed with the other processes, somehow ignoring done's presence. In this way, a higher PAST alone will give the preterit form of the main verb, or a have form resulting from a combination of tenses will determine that a past participle ending is added to the main verb.

This difference in behavior between done and other tenses might argue for the treatment of done as an adverb, since the above problem would then not arise. However, there would remain other syntactic differences between done and adverbs, such as those discussed earlier in this section. For instance, the fact that done cannot occur in reduced clauses while adverbs can would require some form of marking or other mechanism. Since done does not behave syntactically exactly like any of the categories considered, its special characteristics will have to be noted for any classification. At this point, it seems preferable to regard it as an aspect marker represented in underlying structure as a tense form, but the details still need to be worked out.

There are several examples that have not been accounted for in our data. These seem to be exceptional syntactically and do not follow the pattern exhibited in the great majority of cases. They include:

(18) a. ...that little bush was done giving over and I didn't know what there to do. 22:25

b. I mean, you done understand it and then you know he'd keep on explaining, it you know. 154:9

A total of only three such problematic examples are found in the data and they are mentioned so that the data is represented fairly. It may be that they are some sort of "performance error", or they may simply represent possible extensions of the environments in which done occurs. Since they are so few in number, however, it would be necessary to obtain more data in order to make any more definitive statement.

8.3 Semantic Properties

Most previous studies of done, as seen in an earlier section, have dealt mainly with describing what it means, either in terms of synonymy with some other lexical item or its effect with respect to the rest of the verb phrase. In the section on syntax, the claim was made that done is essentially completive in nature, as observed by Scott (1973) and by Wolfram and Fasold (1974). This particular feature, used in the syntax basically in order to differentiate the node label from other tenses, was chosen more for semantic reasons, as will be discussed here. First, however, a few comments will be made concerning the other proposals that have been made, to show both how such conclusions could fairly easily be drawn and why they are not entirely accurate.

The more general conception about done is that it is perfective and is the equivalent of have in standard English. Of course, in the AE data, there are a number of examples where the perfective have is itself realized, but it could be assumed that done then simply redundantly expresses the perfective force of the *have*, much in the same way that the complementizer *-en* that is associated with it does. Consider the following sentences:

(19) a. I was scared to death after I *done* stepped on it. 164:15

b. Well, we went down there to see him in June and the doctor *done* give him up, said he's got pneumonia... 22:12

In these, and others like these, the substitution of *have* for *done* seems to give a fairly close approximation of the meaning of the sentence, and it was undoubtedly such sentences that led other investigators to the above conclusion. However, in our data, there are environments where *have* and *done* are clearly not equivalent, as seen above in (5) in the discussion of *have*-deletion:

(20) ...and I come back by the house and *done* got my feet wet. 146:27

and others where, also seen previously, *done* follows an auxiliary other than *have*. Given the syntactic analysis proposed in the last section, it is interesting to note again the basic similarity in the underlying structures of past perfects and *done* constructions, which might well be the basis for drawing this conclusion about its meaning. Both have at least two higher verbs marked *PAST* and in situations where this is the most salient feature of *done*, they may well be interchangeable with only very slight differences in meaning. However, this account is not accurate when a range of environments, such as those seen here, are possible.

A similar situation exists with those investigators who claim that *done* corresponds to *already*. Again there are some contexts where the pair of sentences would be very much alike in meaning, as in:

(21) a. If I'd do the laundry, she's do the laundry, you know, go back and do the same thing over again that I *done* ironed and put away. 36:15

b. I reckon she's *done* sold it. 153:32

However, there are also a large number of examples where this is not the case:

(22) a. He said, "My God, you *done* killed that man's horse!" 146:8

b. We thought well we can sit back and enjoy our labor of the years gone by since the children had done left home. 37:16

Here the semantic facts bear a relationship to the reasons why this might have appeared to be a reasonable hypothesis. Already has at least two senses, one roughly like previously or prior to seen above and another roughly so soon, as in:

(23) I didn't know you were already here.

Done is never seen as equivalent to the second sense, but only the first. This seems again to relate to the PAST component of done which in some cases will be similar to the previously sense of already.

What is suggested here follows the proposal of Scott (1973) in maintaining that the distinctiveness of done lies in its completive aspect, while other investigators seem to have focused on its pastness. The motivation for this conclusion comes mainly from evidence of the type Scott calls semantic incompatibility in her discussion of done's non-occurrence with certain types of verb phrases, specifically what she calls the continuative forms and the habitual non-continuative (Scott 1973:143). Thus, we can provide semantic conformation of the syntactic facts previously noted, in that done cannot be paired with a tense or aspect that would not allow a completive interpretation for the verb phrase. This is shown in the unacceptability of sentences with future, present, or progressive forms of verbs, as in (24):

(24) a. I'll (*done) finish this letter later.

b. I'll go to the store when I (*done) finish this letter.

c. I didn't know it then but I was (*done) stepping on a snake.

In the last example, the progressive form prevents a completive aspect, even though a past time is indicated. This factor can be isolated as the determining one since otherwise semantically, the sentence is acceptable as seen when the progressive is replaced:

(25) I didn't know it then, but I (had) done stepped on a snake.

Another bit of evidence for the completive meaning comes from cooccurrence restrictions with adverbials (the kind of argument used extensively by McCawley 1971 to support his analysis of tense). Adverbs like always usually, often, generally, normally, etc., modify the verb phrase in part with an incompletive or continuative sense, making them incompatible with done, as we see in (26):[1]

(26) a. He always (*done) ate everything in sight.
b. She has always (*done) eaten everything in sight.
c. They often (*done) forgot their lunch.
d. They had generally (*done) paid their bills on time.

A set of adverbs which would also appear to be excluded in these structures are those which overtly signify incompletion, of the type of almost, nearly, just about, etc. Although none of these occur in the present data, it may be possible to use them to qualify the completeness aspect of done, given that sentences like (27) are probably at least marginally acceptable.

(27) He (?done) almost fell down two flights of stairs.

Feagin (forthcoming) has an example of this in White Alabama English in:

(28) I done 'bout forgot.

and considers it a possible "hedging on the completive meaning:. With only this one example, though, it is impossible to draw any conclusions on how extensive the possibilities of qualifying the completive meaning might be.

Finally, verbs which are non-completive in nature also are generally unacceptable in a construction with done. This is illustrated in (29):

(29) a. She (*done) was happy to hear the news.
b. They had (*done) seemed upset.
c. I (*done) wanted to finish that book last night.
d. They (*done) happened to be at the theater when we arrived.

This appears to be the same sort of relationship as that between stative verbs and the progressive aspect, as pointed out by Lakoff (1970). However, as in that co-occurrence limitation, there also appear to be exceptions.

(30) ...and when she come home the next day, she done had the fever. 22:17

Here, the main verb have would seem to work against getting a completive reading with done, but what happens instead is that done in some way forces a completiveness onto have. In (30) the focus appears to be on getting the sickness, or the beginning of the process of having it, which was over, rather than on having it, which was ongoing, at the time being referred to. Thus, a possible generalization is that done cannot occur with verbs that are in some way anti-completive, but may be used with verbs that have a potential completive component which is then reinforced.

8.4 Pragmatic Aspects

A further consideration in describing any language phenomena involves viewing it from a functional perspective. That is, why would a speaker choose to encode it in a particular utterance (over and above syntactic and semantic aspects which may limit the choice) and what work does it accomplish there? In order to look at this aspect, such factors as the role of speaker intentions and assumptions are given attention. While this notion is clearly an important one, its exploration in linguistic studies is still in the early stages. This section will deal briefly with one facet of how done seems to be functioning pragmatically in AE, with a suggestion for how this may tie in with the syntax and semantics as previously discussed.

An observation that can be made about the examples in our data is that often, if not always, done appears to carry some emphasis with it. That is most obvious in narratives, where such devices are frequent, as in (31):

(31) a. She opened the oven door to put her bread in to bake it and there set the cat. Hide done busted off his skill and fell down and his meat just come off'n his bones. 31:25

b. You shoulda seen him coming out of there. We thought he was done gone. Just straight down, too. 51:11

The emphatic effect is also present in some non-narrative contexts, as in (32), which was uttered as part of a discussion of what happens to certain kinds of women:

(32) ...and then the next thing you know she's done throwed herself plumb to the dogs. Well, oncet when she puts herself to the dogs it's harder for a woman to pull herself back than it is a man. 30:29

This last example is further strengthened by the inclusion of the intensifying adverb plumb, a feature of AE which is treated in Section 4.2.3.

The problem with dealing with a notion like emphasis is that there is so little that is known about it, in terms of how it is accomplished (i.e. its correlation with stress, intonation, certain grammatical processes) and how it functions. Hooper and Thompson (1973) maintain that emphasis can be given only to an asserted clause. They further show that certain transformations (taken from Emonds 1971) which serve to make a sentence more emphatic apply not only to main clauses but also to certain embedded clauses. Prior to this, it had to be assumed that only main clauses could be asserted, with questions, negations and all embedded clauses excluded. Hooper and Thompson argue that with certain verbs, which they call "assertive predicates", the clauses embedded under them are asserted, using the application of the emphasis-giving transformations within them as evidence. They also maintain that non-restrictive relative clauses and certain relative and adverbial clauses are asserted rather than presupposed. Green (1974b), however, argues that all of the emphatic constructions in question above do not have the same distribution, that is, within assertions as defined by Hooper and Thompson. Their distribution is, instead, "determined pragmatically, not structurally or even semantically in the logician's sense" (Green 1974b:190). Evidence is given that their applicability depends on the speaker's intentions and assumptions, in particular with respect to certainty about or agreement with the proposition involved. In other words, it is unlikely that speakers would use a device to make a proposition more emphatic if they are uncertain about its validity.

Since the kind of evidence used by both Hooper and Thompson (1973) and Green (1974b), the distribution of transformations with emphatic function, is not applicable to the present discussion, their conclusions with respect to emphasis will simply be examined as they might apply to done. A substantial number of the propositions containing done are clearcut assertions (non-interrogative, non-negative, non-embedded clauses). Of the 65 examples, 48 fall into this category. An additional 7 instances of done are found in embedded clauses of the type Hooper and Thompson (1973) would call "assertive", with higher predicates like say, think, reckon, as in:

(33) Fieldworker: I was thinking about buying that old car of hers.

Informant: I reckon she's done sold it. 153:32

Green's (1974) refinement of the Hooper and Thompson treatment of assertion seems to be the right direction to take on this issue, so it should be noted that the 7 examples referred to above would also fit her criterion with respect to the speaker's assumptions of certainty or validity. For example, in (33), the informant's main proposition appears to be the assertion that the car has been sold, the certainty of which is hedged on slightly with I reckon, but the proposition is assumed to be fairly certain.

The remaining 10 occurrences of done are found in subordinate clauses of other types, which would not be considered as asserting their proposition within the framework proposed by Hooper and Thompson. Green (1974b) on the other hand, points out that attempting to fit every emphatic clause into the category of assertion might well destroy the integrity of that category. It seems that, although this last group of done clauses are perhaps non-assertive, they are at least candidates for emphasis. The majority of these are adverbial clauses of time and reason and are, of course, referring to past time because of the other factors involved in the use of done. Green's proposal seems applicable here in suggesting how done may be used emphatically in these cases. The use of such an adverbial points to something which simply precedes (time) or precedes and is causally related to (reason) the main proposition of the utterance. If the main proposition is an assertion, which it is in each case, the speaker's level of certainty with respect to the adverbial would seem to be quite high and since done contributes to the past completion aspect, this might explain how done can be used emphatically in such non-assertions. Examples from this category are:

(34) a. (time) They happened to see it, you know, after I done run. And it went into the water, I imagine it's a water snake. 164:16

b. (reason) We had to tear out the floor winter before last in the kitchen and put in a whole new floor because the one that was in there had done rotted. 35:21

An original motivation for looking at done with respect to emphasis came from the fact that our data contain no instances in which it occurs in questions or negative utterances. This is a further argument for the emphatic use of done. Feagin (forthcoming), however, reports that her data does in fact show questions (both with and without subject-aux inversion), tag questions, and negatives (only one example with done). This may indicate that this pragmatic aspect of done is optional; that is, the speaker may choose to use done emphatically or not, depending on what assumptions are held about the proposition being expressed.

8.5 Sociolinguistic Variability

When we speak of done as a feature of AE, this does not mean that it is used by all speakers or to the same extent by those who do use it. Instead, it is present variably and a major factor in our sample appears to be age. Table 48 shows the number of occurrences of the feature by sex and age group. From these figures, it seems that having a male speaker may increase the chances of done's occurrence but this cannot be clearly established in this sample. What does appear significant, however, is the much greater use of done found by speakers in the older age groups. This type of distribution according to age, may be an indication that the phenomena is dying out in this area. The findings of Labov concerning Vernacular Black English are apparently similar, since he observes that done "appears to be receding in the BEV of northern cities" (1972c:53).

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
8-11	3	3	6
12-14	5	2	7
15-18	4	1	5
20-40	5	9	14
40+	26	7	33
TOTAL	43	22	65

Table 49. Number of Occurrences of done by Sex and Age Group

The factors causally related to the disappearance of done are at this point not at all clear. It is undoubtedly a stigmatized form in this variety, and individuals who use relatively few stigmatized forms will most likely have little or no evidence of done. As previously mentioned, many individuals in the present sample show no instances of done in this usage at all (only about 25 per cent do) but it is not possible to determine at this point whether they never use it or simply did not have occasion to include it while being taped. There are probably individuals of both types represented, with social class interacting here because of its social diagnosticity.

8.6 An Historical Note

It is interesting to note that done was apparently present in earlier stages in the development of English but disappeared in most varieties. Traugott observes that Middle English "saw the development of a further segmentalization of the perfective, as in I have done gone", surviving only in Northern English, however, after the fifteenth century (1972:146). In addition, at this time, the done did not seem to require a past participle following it. Traugott speaks of the past participle "spreading" to the main verb in late Middle English, and speculates that an "emphasis on the completion" may be involved (1972:193). She also questions the hypothesis which would seem difficult to provide support for in AE.

These historical facts (Feagin (forthcoming)) presents a more extensive list of citations and references for them which will not be reviewed here) may provide support for the present analysis in the following way (assuming some relation between the form attested above and done in AE). If done originated as an additional component of the perfective aspect as it was developing in the English language, it may have retained its status as an added aspect marker while modifying its privileges of occurrence somewhat in those varieties where it was preserved. Traugott gives its initial environment as have + PP + do (+PP), indicating that, at first, have done finish was the acceptable form. Later, the "spreading" of the past participle to the main verb gave the form have done finished (1972:193). Once the past participle spread to the main verb, done may have attained some degree of independence from the have-construction, its privileges of occurrence broadening to include simple past verbs and the be auxiliary, while it kept its function to mark a completive aspect. This is, however, mainly speculation, based on the synchronic facts of the usage of done in AE and the historical evidence available on its possible origins. It is beyond the scope of this analysis to attempt further substantiation of this hypothesis; it is offered as a possible sequence of development if the forms found in AE are indeed related to the earlier English constructions.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FOOTNOTE

1. It is not clear where the adverb would be placed in such sentences, i.e. before or after the aspect marker done. There are no examples in our data with this type of adverbial modification that might serve as a guide. Feagin (forthcoming) mentions a few instances in which such modification takes place, two of which are in a construction with an auxiliary form, was, but none with a form of have. For both types of verb phrases, with and without an auxiliary, she has examples that seem to indicate that the adverb placement is variable, since some include it preceding done, others following (this may bear some relationship to scope). In any event, the sentences in (25) seem equally bad with the adverb in either position.

CHAPTER NINE

SUBJECT-VERB CONCORD

9.0 Introduction

Many languages require that verbs in sentences be marked to agree in various respects with the subject noun phrase of the verb. This type of marking, which will be referred to here as "agreement" or "concord", can involve a fairly extensive set of inflections that reflects the person and/or number characteristics of the subject. In present-day English, this process is relatively limited, but it has evolved from an agreement system which, in earlier stages of the language, was much more extensive.

The nature of this concord relationship is another area which shows variability across and within varieties of English as many non-mainstream varieties show alternate paradigms to the standard one. The patterns of agreement observed in this sample of AE exhibit one direction these differences in paradigms can take, as well as the range in the extent of nonstandard usage by individual speakers. Examples of the types of alternate forms that occur for AE are given in (1):

(1) a. Your clothes gets cleaner. 36:25
b. The horns is supposed to be three inches long. 146:18
c. There was too many things that was different. 158:16

As in Chapter Seven, the variability under discussion will be viewed in the context of potential change in progress. In this way, the variation (between and within individual speakers) has a central role in indicating the direction of change in concord relationships for English as a whole. The nature of usage patterns with the nonstandard forms coupled with historical evidence on previous developments in concord relationships, point to the variation as part of such a change. In this framework, then, the higher incidence of alternate forms is seen as a stage where the change is more advanced. This applies both to individual speakers with overall higher levels of nonstandard concord and to linguistic factors that systematically favor the alternate forms.

As mentioned above, many non-mainstream varieties have concord paradigms that differ from the standard one. Atwood (1953:28-30) describes the usage of certain forms that were attested in the Linguistic Atlas studies in the eastern part of the United States. Based on concord relationships observed with particular lexical items, he cites evidence for nonstandard forms of concord for the verb be in construction with pronouns you and we, with expletive there and with plural noun subjects, and for certain combinations of main verbs and plural subjects. For the most part, these usages were recorded as common only with the less educated informants. Certain regional differences were also noted, with speakers from the more southern states typically showing a greater degree of nonstandard concord, although the usage is in no way restricted to a particular area.

Wolfram and Fasold (1974:153-158) discuss various kinds of concord relationships that do not match the standard paradigm precisely. They particularly treat the similarities and differences between Vernacular Black English and a variety of AE described by Hackenberg (1972). Feagin (forthcoming) describes the nonstandard forms of concord in White Alabama English. Both Feagin's and Hackenberg's accounts will be dealt with in detail in a later section since the varieties they describe have much in common with the sample of AE represented here. In general, the sources cited here observe nonstandard concord among speakers typically characterized as lower socio-economic class. These sources are mentioned primarily to attest to the widespread use of alternate concord patterns in nonmainstream varieties (social and/or geographical) which is further evidence for viewing concord relations as a case of change in progress.

9.1 Standard Forms of Concord in English

The present-day standard concord relationship in English has evolved from a much more extensive agreement system found in earlier stages of the language. In both Old and Middle English, the verbal agreement inflections for the present tense required distinctions for both person and number of the subject. For singular subjects, first, second and third person forms were differentiated, while the plural subjects were simply contrasted with the singular ones, but undifferentiated as to person (Robertson and Cassidy 1954:141). This more extensive set of distinctions eventually developed into the present system which distinguishes only the third person singular agreement from all other persons and numbers (except for the case of *be* which we discuss below). In the standard paradigm, concord with third person singular subjects is represented by the *-s* inflectional suffix; all other present tense forms are identical to the basic word stem (bare root form) of the verb. This development is displayed in Table

	Old English		Middle English		Modern English	
	sg.	plur.	sg.	plur.	sg.	plur.
1st person	-e	-að	-e	-e(n)	-	-
2nd person	-est	-að	-est	-e(n)	-	-
3rd person	-eð	-að	-eth	-e(n)	-s	-

Table 50. *Development of Subject-Verb Concord Inflections in English* (from Robertson and Cassidy 1954:141)

In the past tense, no distinctions are made for person or number of the subject noun phrase, again excepting *be*.

As indicated above, *be* departs somewhat from the paradigm described by maintaining some of the older inflectional distinctions. The 1st and 3rd person singular present forms (*am* and *is*) contrast with the form used for 2nd person singular and all plurals (*are*). Number agreement also is retained to some degree in the past tense, where 1st and 3rd singular subjects occur with *was* and the other subjects take *were*. In both tenses, the singular-plural distinction in the 2nd person is no longer observed, and the plural verb form has been adopted. (This coalescence is also found in the pronominal form, where both singular and plural are represented by *you*.)

We should note here that the terms "singular" and "plural" refer to grammatical concepts, not necessarily semantic ones and that the paradigm described above is not without exception. As in the case of the pronoun *you*, a subject's semantic and grammatical number assignment need not match, although in most cases they do. Morgan (1972) discusses some instances where the standard form of agreement for a semantically plural subject may involve a singular marker. He mentions these cases within a more general treatment of the problems of specifying how subject-verb agreement works in

English which we will not detail here. His observations will instead be used to further specify the base of the true informal standard paradigm for concord in English. They may also give some indication of areas where processes similar to those operating in AE for concord appear to have been adopted as standard.

Morgan suggests several areas where specification of agreement marking does not appear straightforward. For instance, when a complex noun phrase is the subject, such as lots of + noun or more than + number + noun, the right constituent must be selected for the verb to agree with. Thus, we get agreement marking as in lots of people are, but lots of rice is and more than one linguist is but more than two linguists are (Morgan 1972:279). There are also cases where conjoined subjects, which typically have plural agreement as their standard form, can instead allow a singular verb form. This can happen when the elements of the conjoined subject are interpreted as a combination rather than separately, as illustrated by the difference between Pickles and ice cream is good and Pickles and ice cream are good. For many speakers, it appears that this may happen as well when there-insertion applies with a conjoined subject, where the verb agrees with the closest conjunct rather than the whole subject. This gives agreement marking like There was a cat and three dogs, but There were three dogs and a cat (Morgan 1972:280-281). Morgan gives a number of other cases where standard agreement is difficult to account for and points out that, in the more complex cases, there is variation among speakers in their judgments about agreement. While there are certainly some important implications of Morgan's observations for linguistic theory, we mention them here as indications of the difficulty of formalizing the standard paradigm of agreement and to point out the existence of variation in mainstream speakers' intuitions about what some standard forms should be. In some cases, the apparent divergences from the paradigm seem to be due to non-syntactic factors (i.e. conjoined subjects interpreted as combinations) while others seem related to syntactic or surface structure characteristics (i.e. there-insertion with a conjoined subject).

Attempts at formalization of rules for subject-verb agreement have been made, but even the more straightforward cases (i.e. those which follow the paradigm outlined above) are difficult to handle adequately.

Because of problems that arise in accounting for the standard paradigm, we will not detail these rules as such in treating the data from AE. However, a brief outline of one approach will be given to show the way an analysis of standard forms might operate. This brief presentation will also serve as background for a later discussion of a treatment of non-standard concord that utilizes rules.

Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968:130-136) within the framework of transformational generative grammar, consider the basic mechanism involved in agreement to be the transfer of the person and number features from the noun to the appropriate part of the verb phrase. To accomplish this, Jacobs and Rosenbaum suggest that three rules are needed. The first, the auxiliary agreement transformation, adds the person and number features from the subject noun phrase to the auxiliary segment. If an auxiliary segment or copula is realized in the surface structure, this transfer determines the agreement marking, giving, for example, *it has*, *they are*, *he does*. If no auxiliary will be realized, another rule, the verbal agreement transformation, copies the features including tense from the auxiliary onto the verb and then the auxiliary is deleted. After the addition of a suffix by the verbal suffix transformation where appropriate (with the underlying shape specified by the lexicon) these rules determine the form of structures like *it runs* and *they waved*. This mechanism of copying features onto verbal segments, then, forms the basic of the analysis of subject-verb concord in English suggested by Jacobs and Rosenbaum.

While this analysis may provide the basic mechanism for specifying agreement relationships, the problem of determining the specific relationship in certain instances still remains. As we have seen in Morgan's observations, there are a number of cases where the number feature of a subject is not simply that of the head noun, so that the transfer of features would not be the straightforward process it might appear to be. The situation is further completed by the variation that exists in judgments as to standard forms as well as those between varieties in the application of agreement marking.

9.2 Data Extraction

The following discussion of concord in AE is based on the sample of 52 informants discussed in Chapter One. For each informant, data were extracted by simply noting whether agreement took the standard form or not. Since, with one exception, no instances of nonstandard concord with grammatically singular subjects were observed during preliminary examinations of the data, these were not included in the tabulation. The one exception to this pattern was the use of don't where the standard form is doesn't. All occurrences of concord involving plural subjects in the present tense were tabulated, differentiating among be, have and other verbs. In addition, agreement with be in the past tense was recorded since the standard forms of this verb are marked for agreement, unlike the past tenses of other verbs.

In the case of be, a distinction was also made between contracted and non-contracted forms of the verb. However, this distinction will not be maintained in later aspects of analysis since the agreement marking influences contraction rather than vice versa. The incidence of singular agreement with plural subjects with contracted forms of be turns out to be categorical, except for the cases of present tense be with pronoun subjects where agreement is almost always standard. This pattern seems to be a result of the difference between the singular and plural forms of be. In the past tense, for instance, the singular form was is often contracted in AE to 's, but the plural form were is seldom contracted to 're (and such contraction would typically take place only following a vocalic segment). A similar situation is found with singular is and plural are for the present tense, although are is often contracted with the pronouns which end in vowels. Because of these factors, it is not surprising that contracted forms only show nonagreement (with the one exception) since the singular forms of be are more widely contractable. With the contraction rule following specification of agreement, then, the type of marking selected will influence the likelihood of contraction taking place.

In order to minimize the chances of obscuring constraints on variability different types of subjects were also tabulated separately for each of the verb types above. For the grammatically plural pronouns you, we and they, a simple count of standard and nonstandard occurrences was made. For other plural noun phrase subjects, a notation of the subject and verb form was made in addition to the tabulation. For counting purposes, four types of surface subjects were identified: expletive there, conjoined noun phrase, collective noun phrase, and other plural noun phrase. In addition, any cases of nonstandard agreement which did not fit into this grid were noted.

One further distinction was made in terms of whether or not the subject and verb in the concord relationship were in some way syntactically separated, in order to determine whether this factor might have some influence on the incidence of nonstandard concord. This situation occurs when a clause intervenes between the subject and the verb, or when the verb is a member of a different clause than its surface subject, as in the examples in (2):

(2) a. All the grandchildren that comes in knows where the cookie jar is at. 80:10

b. I feel sorry for people that's just bringing children up now. 83:4

c. Of course, your halfbacks are not the only ones that goes out. 146:2

Although this type of separation appeared to have some favoring effect on the incidence of nonconcord, there was not a sufficient number of cases on which to base any significant kind of generalization. These examples were subsequently excluded from the tabulations of other categories rather than combining them with the non-separated subject-verb pairs.

Whenever a question arose as to how a form should be counted, the example was omitted from tabulation. In some cases, this involved some uncertainty as to the standard form of agreement, as in the types of concord relationships discussed by Morgan (see Section 9.1). Other instances included what might be false starts or hesitations, where it could not be clearly established that the subject and verb were actually involved in a concord relationship. Finally, instances of copula absence could not be included because they show no overt agreement marking (but see Section 3.2.1).

9.3 Concord in AE

Although subject-verb concord in AE follows much the same paradigm as the standard one discussed above, there are certain areas in which it differs. It should be remembered, though, that these areas of difference are not categorical. Instead they represent areas where AE allows alternate forms of agreement and variation occurs between the two forms. As mentioned earlier, the cases where the pattern in AE may differ from the standard one involve almost exclusively number agreement in which a singular verb form is found with a grammatically plural subject, and we will focus our attention on this part of the paradigm.

The type of verb involved appears to be a major factor in determining differences in the concord pattern in AE. For verbs other than be, no subject-verb concord occurs other than in the present tense. For be, however, we have seen that both present and past tenses can show concord, with be retaining more of the older distinctions of person and number than other verbs. Due to the differing relationships of concord between be and non-be verbs and the historical development that led to the present system, it is not surprising that there are differing degrees of nonstandard concord as well. In addition, the auxiliary status of be may play a role, since, as we shall see, the behavior of the auxiliary have with respect to concord is much more like that of present tense be than that of other non-be verbs.

The variation in concord relationships found in a variety such as AE may be indicative of further change in progress in the system. Since concord with person or number in the past tense has disappeared entirely in verbs other than be, it could be expected that the change eliminating the distinction for be as well would be more advanced than the others. The data from AE confirm such an expectation, assuming that a higher incidence of nonstandard concord indicates a more advanced change. The overall figures for the four categories of verbs considered, given in the bottom line of Table 51, show that there is a much greater likelihood of nonstandard concord occurring with a past tense be form than with have, present tense be, or other verbs. That is, was is more likely to occur for standard were, than has for have, is for are or goes for go. In AE, then, the concord system in the past tense for be more closely approximates that for other verbs in that was is used predominantly for both singular and plural subjects, much like the pattern in which a single form is used for the past tenses of other verbs.

Table 51 also shows another influence on agreement in AE in the nature of the plural subject. An obvious distinction is that between a pronoun such as you, we, or they, and other nominals. This particular distinction

	Past be		Have		Present be		Other Verbs		Total	
	No. NS Total	%	No. NS Total	%	No. NS Total	%	No. NS Total	%	No. NS Total	%
Expletive There	107/115	93.0	2/2	100.0	163/170	95.9	-	-	272/287	94.8
Conjoined NP	60/67	89.6	6/8	75.0	11/16	68.8	8/15	53.3	85/106	80.2
Collective NP	6/9	66.7	9/13	69.2	10/24	41.7	23/81	28.4	48/127	37.8
Other NP	103/160	64.3	17/37	46.0	52/178	29.2	33/136	24.3	205/511	40.1
Subtotal	276/351	78.3	34/60	56.7	236/388	60.8	64/232	27.6	610/1031	59.2
Pronoun	659/826	79.8	0/575	0	5/762	0.7	4/2352	0.2	668/4515	14.8
Total	935/1177	79.4	34/635	5.4	241/1150	21.0	68/2584	2.6	1278/5546	23.0

Table . Incidence of Nonstandard Concord in AE by Type of Verb and Subject (NS=Nonstandard) apparently interacts strongly with the type of verb, since a pronoun subject with be in the past tense shows a high incidence of nonstandard concord as compared with the other categories which have almost none. The "subtotal" line in Table 51 was included in order to show the difference in effect on concord between pronominal and non-pronominal subjects for the verb categories. For past tense be, there is hardly any difference, while in the other cases, the contrast is quite striking.

Within the general class of plural subjects there are also differences in effects on concord, but they seem more constant across the types of verbs. Various classes of plural subjects were considered in this investigation, but four main categories emerged as influential on agreement patterns. These are illustrated in sentences (3) through (6):

(3) Conjoined Noun Phrase:
  a. Me and my sister gets in a fight sometimes. 1:25
  b. A boy and his daddy was a-huntin. 22:23
(4) Collective Noun Phrase:
  a. Some people makes it from fat off a pig. 164:30
  b. People's not concerned. 30:12
(5) Other Plural Noun Phrase:
  a. ...no matter what their parents has taught 'em. 61:22
  b. The cars was all tore up. 77:16
(6) Expletive there
  a. There's different breeds of 'em. 159:22
  b. There was 5 in our family. 160:13

The examples in (3) through (5) contain grammatically plural subjects. Conjoined noun phrases are those with two or more constituents, each of which may be singular or plural, joined by a conjunction like and or or. These typically function as plural subjects, although, as we have seen, there are instances when they may be interpreted as singular. Conjoined subjects turn out to favor the use of an alternate form of agreement. This may be related to the fact that when such structures occur as subjects, the conjunct closest to the verb is often singular. However, in a comparison of singular and plural closest conjuncts for this sample, there was no significant difference in the incidence of nonstandard concord. The instances of singular conjuncts far outnumbered those of plural conjuncts and so the effects shown may not be representative.

The second type of noun phrase distinguished is referred to as "collective". This term was chosen to indicate those subjects which refer to an indeterminate group, and which do not have singular and plural forms, but act grammatically plural. The prime example is people, and since this item is fairly commonly used, the item could be tabulated though the number of tokens remained relatively low. The figures shown in Table 51 indicate that the category of collective noun phrases out has a somewhat higher incidence of nonstandard concord than other non-conjoined noun phrases. These other noun phrases were simply grouped together since no further distinctions seemed to be significant at this point.

The final category, expletive there (cf. Section 3.4.5) is somewhat different from the others since it fills the surface subject slot but does not determine the agreement relationship in the sentence. Sentences with this use of there are instead related to other sentences in the following way:

(7) a. Four cows are in the barn.
b. There are four cows in the barn.

The subjects in the sentences like (7a), before the there is inserted, govern agreement. In that way, a sentence with there can have verb concord for either singular or plural, depending on the following noun phrase. Although there can be inserted in sentences with other verbs, it predominantly occurs with be. In this sample, the two instances of there with verbs other than be are both uses of the auxiliary have, which represents part of the past participle of be. The fact that the subject is removed from its usual position preceding the verb may contribute to the higher degree of nonstandard concord with there in AE. The interaction of the rule of there insertion, which is posited to account for the relationship between the sentences in (7) and agreement is generally accounted for by ordering the rules in a certain way. (Akmajian and Heny 1975:201). That is, if agreement rules are ordered before there insertaion, the fact that the verb agrees with a following noun phrase can be accounted for. In this way, too, the unity of agreement as involving a verb and a preceding noun phrase can be maintained. The present data, however, show there almost exclusively taking singular agreement (100 per cent of the instances where a singular noun phrase follows and 94.8 per cent with a plural noun phrase). The figures for there seem independent of the type of noun phrase that follows, although, as subject, it would determine the agreement marking in the standard paradigm. Because of this, it appears that there cannot be treated simply as an extension of the pattern of alternate forms of agreement in AE. It is a special constraint on nonstandard concord which does not seem to interact with the other constraints. This may indicate that expletive there in AE is being reanalyzed as a singular subject, rather than the "dummy" subject it is considered to be in standard English. Although some of the informants show some incidence of standard agreement with there when a plural noun phrase follows the verb (12 of the 52 in the sample), many show categorical singular agreement.

Some further observations can be made on the basis of the figures in Table 51. The past form of be shows consistently higher rates of nonstandard agreement forms than the present tense verbs. The ordering of subject types is comparable for the various verb categories in terms of how they affect the use of nonstandard agreement forms. A similar pattern is produced by the ordering of verbs within each subject category. In this way, the table demonstrates the inter-relationship of the two major constraints on agreement in AE.

A rather striking difference appears in the behavior of pronouns, however. As observed earlier, pronouns participate fully in the process of nonstandard agreement for past tense be, but they show virtually complete standard agreement for the other verbs. This display indicates that concord operates differently in the two tenses in AE which may, in turn, relate to differences in the way change in the system is proceeding or how far it has advanced. What may be taking place is a generalization of was for both singular and plural subjects with the past tense of be, in conformance with the pattern for the past tense in other verbs. In this way, be would no longer be exceptional by requiring an agreement marking in the past tense vis-à-vis all other verbs. For the present tense, however, it does not seem to be the verb form (third person singular) that is generalizing. If it were simply a matter of the number distinction being lost, as it is in the past tense, all third person plural subjects, including the pronoun they, would be expected to be involved. Instead, they behaves like the other grammatically plural pronominal forms and is relatively unaffected.

The variation between standard and nonstandard forms of agreement with all present tense verbs occurs nearly exclusively with nonpronominal subjects. This seems to reflect a difference in the number feature assigned to the subject itself, rather than a difference in the way the number feature determines agreement. That is for the present tense, non-pronominal plural subjects may be marked to take grammatically singular agreement on the verb.

9.4 Patterns of Variation in AE

9.4.1 Other Treatment of Variation in Concord Relationships

Before discussing further variation in agreement patterns for this sample of AE, it is useful to review two other pertinent treatments of nonmainstream varieties with respect to concord. The first, presented in Feagin (forthcoming) deals with a variety of White Alabama English. Many of the observations she makes about agreement in that variety coincide with those made here. For the most part, nonstandard concord occurred, as in AE, where a grammatically plural subject was paired with a verb marked for singular agreement. In addition, the highest frequencies were observed in the cases of expletive there and past tense be with plural subjects.

A discussion of concord in a variety which is geographically much closer to the present sample is given in Hackenberg (1972), in which a sample of AE from another section of West Virginia is described. Not surprisingly, the data he reports are quite similar to what we observe here, which would seem to lend support to the generalizability of the relationships found in this study. He summarizes the patterns of variation from the standard paradigm as follows:

> ...First of all, the third person singular form of present tense verb forms of [standard English] are used both when the subject is third person singular and when it is third person plural. The only exception to this is that this never happens when the third person plural subject is a pronoun.
>
> The second part of the pattern deals with the past tense of the verb be. ...In the corpus, was is used for both the singular and the plural. Unlike the present tense verbs, there is no restriction on the type of plural subject with which this occurs.
>
> (Hackenberg 1972:91-92)

Hackenberg presents an analysis of the data using variable rules. This approach naturally carries with it the problems discussed earlier (Section 9.2) with respect to formalizing agreement relationships in English. However, as Hackenberg deals with only the straightforward cases of the standard paradigm in his rules, these problems will not be discussed again here. He refers to Jacobs and Rosenbaum's (1968) work in giving his account of the rules for standard agreement (Hackenberg 1972:58), but it is unclear how closely he follows that source. As we saw earlier, they deal with agreement in English in terms of copying syntactic features of person and number from the subject noun phrase onto some part of the verb. Hackenberg, on the other hand, presents a series of transformational rules, one of which deals generally with concord in the case of third person singular subjects and others which specify the particular forms of past and present tense be. The first rule involves replacing an auxiliary segment which is marked [-PAST] with the Z_3 morpheme (third person singular present tense verb suffix) when the subject has the features [+III] (third person) and [+SG] (singular). While this may represent an adequate way of handling the process, it seems clearly different from the approach taken by Jacobs and Rosenbaum.

Hackenberg identifies three sets of constraints that influence the operation of agreement which are similar to but do not coincide exactly with those that have been discussed here. He considers (1) the type of verb (be or non-be); (2) the type of subject (pronouns you, we, they, expletive there or other non-pronominal noun phrase); and (3) tense (present or past). He then rewrites two of the above transformations as variable rules, incorporating these constraints, to account for the variation in concord. Although the factor of tense is referred to as a constraint, this does not show up in any of the rules since there is a variable rule for present tense verbs and one for past tense be. Hence only the constraints listed as the first two groups above are built into the rules.

The first rule Hackenberg states is the transformation which replaces the auxiliary with the Z_3 morpheme for present tense verbs with third singular subjects, shown in (8):

(8) Z_3 Concordance (Hackenberg 1972:70)

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
X\ [& \begin{bmatrix} +III \\ *(+SG) \\ -*\left(\begin{smallmatrix} -SG \\ +PRO \end{smallmatrix}\right) \end{bmatrix}_{NP} & Y\ [& \begin{bmatrix} +VERB \\ A([+COP]) \end{bmatrix} & [-PAST] & B\ \left(\frac{There}{[+EXIST]}\right) & Z\ ]_{VP}\ ] \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \rightarrow \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & Z_3 & 6 & 7
\end{array}$$

Two constraints are hierarchized in the representation, with the presence of the verb be as the highest order constraint (shown as A([+COP]) and the presence of expletive there as a second order ( ) constraint. The complex of features with the noun phrase (NP) is intended to indicate that the Z_3 morpheme is always added with a third person singular subject and never occurs with a third person plural subject which is a pronoun. The remaining option, a non-pronominal plural subject, is not listed but the claim is made that this notation indicates that the rule "sometimes applies" in that context (Hackenberg 1972:71). In reality, the other two constraints are only relevant in that case and influence how frequent the "sometimes" is.

An immediate problem with this representation is the inclusion of the constraint there in the formulation of the rule. As we saw earlier, there insertion is a separate rule which is generally ordered after agreement rules. Although this ordering may not apply for some AE speakers, Hackenberg gives no justification for the potential presence of there in the structure which undergoes his concordance transformations. As Morgan (1972:281) points out, according to the usual ordering of these rules, agreement would have to be a global rule in order to take into account whether or not there-insertion will be applied in the derivation. In order to maintain this formulation, then, Hackenberg would either have to argue for the status of this transformation as a global rule or justify in some other way the presence of there at this point in the derivation for his AE speakers. A second difficulty involves the hierarchy of constraints proposed. In considering the relative strengths of the two constraints, to determine which should be the alpha constraint, Hackenberg notes that a crucial cross-product is missing. That is, while a frequency of nonstandard concord was observable for the cases where both be and there are present (63 per cent), where neither is present (30 per cent), and where be is present but there is not (43 per cent), no frequency was available for the fourth logical possibility, + There, -be. Hackenberg (1972:71) assumes that be is the stronger constraint, and predicts that for that fourth case, the frequency would fall between 43 and 30 per cent. However, again, no justification is given for this conclusion and it would seem that some further consideration of the problem is warranted. The figures from our sample point to the possibility of there outranking be since it appears to be a strong influence on agreement, but this remains uncertain because of the scarcity of examples where there occurs with a non-be verb.

For the past tense form of be, another rule is formulated. In this case, the constraints exclusively involve the type of subject, since the rule is specific to a single verb in a single tense. We restate the rule in (9) for reference:

(9) Was Concordance (Hackenberg 1972:77)

$$X \begin{bmatrix} * \begin{bmatrix} -II \\ +SG \end{bmatrix} \\ A(-II) \\ B(+II) \end{bmatrix}_{NP} Y[\ [+COP]\ [+PAST]\ A\ \left(\frac{\underline{There}}{[+EXIST]}\right)\ ]_{VP}\ Z]_{S}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \rightarrow \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & \underline{Was} & 6 & 7 \end{array}$$

The notation of this rule indicates that the presence of there or the pronoun you rank as the highest order constraints, and the presence of the pronoun we is next in strength. This formulation, like that in (8), requires some provision for the inclusion of the feature of expletive there.

The hierarchizing of constraints is again a problem for this rule. To begin with, no indication is given of the relative strength of the pronoun they in contrast with non-pronominal plural subjects, although it may be intended that these together constitute an "other" category. The constraints seem to derive their order from a simple list, in that you and there have the highest frequencies, we is next highest and they and non-pronominal subjects have the same, and lowest frequency. There is no apparent geometric ordering underlying the hierarchy at all. A branching diagram is presented, with pronoun and non-pronoun at the base, but in later discussion, the feature is claimed to be non-distinctive. This claim appears to be accurate, since the two potential constraints are separated by only a single percentage point. (This is further confirmed in the present sample where the context of a pronoun showed 79.8 per cent nonstandard concord as compared to 78.3 per cent for the non-pronoun context.) However, if the initial distinction is not valid, the ordering cannot be claimed to appropriately represent the constraints on the rule. The proposal of two alpha constraints, on the premise that two hierarchies were operating, may have been intended to resolve this problem. Given the nature of the figures for Hackenberg's data, supplemented by the facts from our own, it would seem that further investigaiton is needed before such a rule can be formulated.

In sum, although Hackenberg's presentation of the data serves to confirm what has been observed here, his analysis cannot be adopted. There are too many problems that have yet to be resolved in formulating rules for agreement in English to begin with. In addition, the nature of the apparent constraints on variation, for instance, in the special case of expletive there, adds further complexity to the situation. Hence, while the constraints Hackenberg has proposed seem for the most part to be valid ones and are generally supported by our data, their incorporation into variable rules is not as straightforward as his presentation would seem to imply.

9.4.2 Implicational Relationships and Concord in AE

We may now look at the patterning of variation in AE concord in terms of implicational relationships. As we saw in Chapter Seven, these relationships may reflect change in progress. In any event, they show the systematic nature of variation in language as they form the underlying patterns in the use of a particular feature or features. In the case of agreement in AE, we can look at the relationships among the conditioning factors as they relate to the incidence of nonstandard forms. (These factors were described in Section 9.4.)

In terms of the sample as a whole, the figures shown in Table 51 indicate how the constraints pattern in their effect on agreement marking. The complexities represented by the factors listed there have already been discussed, and even though several different processes may be represented by them, they may be implicationally related. That is, even though the process which determines agreement with expletive there may involve a different rule or rules than the ones which account for the nature of concord with past tense be, an implicational relationship may hold between the two factors. Such a relationship would exist if in the presence of one of the contexts the incidence of nonstandard concord was consistently lower than when the other one was present. (For a discussion of the nature of implicational analysis, see Section 7.5.1.)

When the nature of implicational relationships was investigated in terms of individual informants, certain limitations of the data become apparent. It was not possible, for instance, to examine the behavior of individuals with respect to each combination of factors, found in the two dimensional chart in Table 51. Even if enough data had been available, the formalization of such relationships in terms of an implicational scale would be very difficult. It would require a three dimensional figure since the contexts cannot be linearly arranged.

As a result of these limitations, the implicational relationships by individual speakers were examined only according to factors which could be linearly arranged and which were general enough for adequate data base. The scale which displays the relationships found is given in Table 52. As in the scales presented in Chapter Seven, deviations from the pattern are circled. The relationships portrayed among these factors in terms of their effect on the incidence of nonstandard concord can be summarized as follows:

(10) Other Present Tense Verbs ⊃ Present Tense have/be ⊃
Past Tense be ⊃ Expletive there

In other words, a speaker who uses some forms like flowers grows would be likely to use a greater incidence of forms like flowers has or flowers is, more flowers was and the highest rate would be expected for forms like there's flowers.

The selection of these categories was not entirely arbitrary, although amount of data available for each was a consideration. As discussed earlier, the presence of expletive there appears to favor consistently the use of singular agreement, perhaps independently of the other factors present. The way in which it is implicationally related to the presence of the verb forms shown in the chart seems to give further evidence for viewing concord with *there* as a result of a different process. This process may be the treatment of *there* simply as a singular subject as suggested earlier. The other categories involve the basic verb types. A major division occurs between tenses, and since the verb *be* is the only one which calls for agreement in its standard forms for the past tense, it is considered separately. Within the present tense, there were several possibilities, since the verbs *be* and *have* as well as other verbs were tabulated. The distinction between *be* and other verbs was fairly clear, but *have* had too few tokens, when dealing with individual speakers, to include it as a separate category. According to the figures for the entire sample (see Table 51), the behavior of *have* with respect to concord was much more like that of *be* than that of other present tense verbs, and so *have* and *be* were combined into one category. This seems to be a reasonable outcome, since those two verbs share an auxiliary status in contrast with the other verbs.

In Table 52, where *0* indicates no nonstandard agreement forms, *1* categorical nonstandard forms and *X* fluctuation between standard and nonstandard forms, a three-valued scale is presented. In addition, percentages representing the incidence of nonstandard concord are given in parentheses for the variable cells. For the most part, these figures conform well to the ideal scale for implicational relationships, but again, some cells are determined by only a few tokens. Despite this fact, the scaleability of the three-valued chart, with 188 filled cells and 12 deviations, turns out to be 93.6 per cent. (This figure should be viewed as only a rough approximation of how well the data as arranged scales. See Section 7.5.2 for more discussion of its use.) When the exact percentage figures for the many-valued scale are considered instead, the scalability still remains above 90 per cent. For this calculation, a cell was counted as deviant if it was more than 5 per cent off in terms of how it should fit the ideal scale. Those cells are indicated in the chart by an underscore under the number in parentheses. The exact calculation for this scaleability figure involves 188 filled cells with 17 deviations, with the result that the many-valued chart is 90.9 per cent scaleable.

Finally, this scale can be viewed as indicative of potential language change in progress. The implicational relationships shown there would form

Inf No.	Age/Sex	Other Verb Pres.	Pres. be/have	Past be	There ___
87	24/M	0	0	0	1
158	25/M	0	0	X(13)	X(77)
37	45/F	Ⓧ(18)	0	X(30)	X(86)
70	13/F	–	0	X(47)	X(88)
7	17/M	0	0	X(47)	1
152	64/F	0	0	X(48)	1
156	20/F	①	0	X(55)	1
154	13/F	0	0	X(82)	1
149	18/F	0	0	X(83)	1
66	17/F	0	0	X(83)	1
4	13/M	0	0	X(93)	1
153	83/F	0	0	1	1
155	17/M	0	X(7)	X(26)	X(89)
150	13/F	0	X(20)	X(27)	1
32	54/M	0	X(22)	X(71)	1
65	15/F	0	X(36)	X(13)	1
28	42/F	0	X(44)	X(75)	1
44	14/M	0	–	X(93)	1
22	60/M	0	–	X(96)	1
77	11/F	0	X(25)	1	1
49	9/M	0	–	1	1
73	8/F	0	1	1	–
29	33/F	X(12.5)	X(21)	X(33)	X(91)
64	15/F	X(20)	X(17)	X(75)	X(67)
160	56/F	①	X(33)	X(27)	X(75)
75	10/F	–	–	①	X(75)
157	52/F	X(20)	⓪	X(63)	X(80)
151	18/F	X(29)	X(40)	X(91)	X(88)
148	13/F	X(36)	X(33)	①	X(93)
61	14/F	X(10)	X(35)	X(50)	1
31	67/M	X(33)	X(88)	X(64)	1
40	39/F	X(38)	X(42)	X(77)	1
1	15/M	X(50)	–	X(97)	–
124	11/M	①	–	X(96)	1
83	93/F	①	X(80)	1	X(80)
35	22/F	X(20)	X(90)	1	1
80	9/F	X(40)	–	1	1
46	15/M	–	X(50)	1	1
2	13/M	①	X(67)	1	–
36	27/F	X(50)	X(78)	1	1
146	52/M	X(57)	X(30)	1	1
30	50/M	X(57)	X(92)	1	1
6	14/M	X(60)	–	1	1
10	14/M	X(75)	–	1	1
164	33/M	X(80)	X(75)	1	1
51	10/M	X(50)	1	1	1
85	78/F	X(67)	1	1	1
74	11/F	1	1	Ⓧ(83)	–
17	16/M	1	1	Ⓧ(96)	1
47	7/M	1	1	1	–
48	9/M	1	1	1	–
159	20/M	1	–	1	1
TOTALS		$\frac{64}{232}$ 27.6	$\frac{105}{276}$ 38.0%	$\frac{836}{1066}$ 78.4%	$\frac{\quad}{287}$ 94.8%

Table 52. Implicational Scale for Incidence of Nonstandard Concord in AE

a basis for charting the direction of such change. From this viewpoint, for instance, the environment with expletive there would be seen as approaching completion in the change to categorical singular agreement marking and it would be predicted that the change to exclusive use of was for the past tense of be would be the next one to move to completion. The dynamic aspect of variation in the patterns of concord is undoubtedly much more complex than this, given the other distinctions that can be made in the conditioning factors that were treated in Section 9.4. The relationships displayed in the scale here, however, give some insight into the nature of the patterns underlying the variation and the direction of language change that may be occurring.

9.5 Other Aspects of Agreement in AE

As we have seen, the nonstandard forms of concord in AE typically occur where a plural subject is present. This contrasts with a variety such as Vernacular Black English which has extensive -s absence in the third person singular forms. (See Wolfram and Fasold 1974:153-158 for a discussion of the differences between varieties of English in the area of agreement marking.) There are some instances of this type of nonstandard concord in this sample of AE but they are primarily of three well-defined types.

The first case appears to be restricted to the lexical item seem as in the examples in (11):

(11) a. It just seem like it does something for you. 160:6
b. Seem like they just don't care about one another. 22:18
c. He can tell it seriously and seem like it's real. 164:22

The -s absence is limited to cases where seem is paired with like and never occurs in sentences like He seems happy. Given this restriction, it appears that seem like may simply be a frozen phrase and that the item seem is not actually a productive case of agreement difference. A phonological basis for this pattern appears to be ruled out by the fact that -s absence does not occur in similar phonological contexts. That is, we would typically get He seems little rather than He seem little, ruling out the possibility of a phonological assimilation or deletion process in the context of a preceding nasal and a following lateral. The total number of instances was not tabulated, but this feature appears to be fairly common, particularly among older speakers.

A second kind of differing concord relationship is used with what has been called the "historical present", a fairly common feature found in many non-mainstream varieties. It is most characteristically found in narratives where first person singular subjects are paired with verbs marked for the third person singular ending, but further comments on patterns of its usage would require more investigation. It is illustrated in a sentence like (12):

(12) I says, you should start dating. I says, you're too young, and, I says, man is made to be with woman... 30:27

Feagin (forthcoming) mentions cases like (12) as part of the variation in agreement patterns, although she notes that most instances of this feature occur in the form I says. Since the usage appears to be largely stylistically determined and fairly restricted in its distribution, it seems preferable to treat the historical present separately.

Finally, there is a common form that is characteristic of many non-mainstream varieties, the use of don't with third person singular subjects, illustrated in (13):

(13) a. Well, a whippin' don't do no good. 35:8
b. He don't beat her now. 151:33

As Wolfram and Fasold (1974:155) note, this form seems to favor -s absence in many varieties where -s absence is otherwise never or very seldom found, which seems to be the case here. The frequency of the usage of don't where the standard form would be doesn't is 76.5 per cent for this sample. This compares with a variety of Vernacular Black English investigated by Fasold (1972:124) where don't occurred in 87.5 per cent of the cases with third person singular subjects. Although the overall frequency levels may vary, the pattern for don't in AE does not appear to differ from that found for other non-mainstream varieties.

9.6 Conclusion

The operation of agreement in AE does not appear to be related to the social variables of age, or sex, since the groups based on those characteristics show considerable uniformity in the incidence of nonstandard concord

APPENDICES

Introduction

We're looking at what people from different parts of the country are interested in. People from different areas have different ways of doing things and they also talk differently. We're interested in these different things and the way people talk about them. We're going to tape record because we can't remember all the things you might say.

We'll just ask some questions that you might like to talk about, like what games you played as a child, what TV programs you might watch, and so on, but feel free to talk about anything you might be interested in.

Adult Questionnaire

I. Current Activities

1. What sorts of games do the kids play around here? Do you remember how to play them? How about some of the games that you played when you were a youngster? Can you remember them? Tell me about them. (See if they built forts or tree houses.) Other favorite activities.

2. How do you spend a typical day? What are some of the things you have to do?

3. Do you like to watch TV? What are some of your favorite TV programs? Can you tell me about one of the recent ones that you saw? What happened?

4. Have you ever seen the Waltons on TV? What do you think about the way it makes out life? Is it a good picture of the way things used to be? Why or why not?

5. Do you like music? What kind of music do you like? Why? Do you have a favorite singer? What are they like?

6. Do you have a lot of family that live around here? Do you ever get together for family reunions or special occasions, like Christmas, or Thanksgiving? Can you remember one of those get-togethers that was the most fun? Why? What happened?

II. Everyday Living

1. What are some of the things that people grow here in their gardens? Do you have one? When's the best time to start planting these things? When do you pick them?

2. Do you ever hear of people planting their crops according to the signs? How does this work? Do you think it's a good way to plant crops? Why or why not?

3. What season of the year do you like best? How come? Can you remember a real bad winter? Were you stuck in the snow? What was it like?

4. How about floods? Can you remember a bad flood? What was it like?

5. Did your parents have any special things they did for you when you were sick? What did they do for a cold? How about mumps? How about measles?

6. How about when babies are born? Do you think it makes a difference if they're born at home or in a hospital? Why?

7. Do you have some friends who have moved away from the area -- to a big city or somewhere else? Do they ever come back? Why do you think they leave and why do some of them come back?

8. Do you think the area has changed much in the last few years?

(Women) 9. Does your family preserve foods? What kinds of foods can you preserve? How do you do it? Do you remember how to churn butter? Make homemade soap? (If so, how do you do it?)

(Men) 10. Do you do a lot of hunting? What types of animals do you go hunting for? Have you ever heard of any dangerous hunting stories (like about bears or dogs fighting with a wild animal). What happened?

III. Remembering

1. Do you remember your first days at school? What were they like?

2. Do you remember your first girlfriend or boyfriend? How did you meet them? Can you remember your first feelings?

3. What are some important things to remember when you're raising kids? Are there some things you should remember not to do? Like what?

4. When you wake up in the morning, do you usually remember dreams you had the night before? Is there a dream you remember real good? What was it about?

5. Do you ever remember getting lost as a child? What happened? How about brothers and sisters who got lost?

IV. Tradition

1. Lots of people talk about ghosts. Do you believe they could be real? Why or why not?

2. Do you remember any ghost stories that people tell to each other? (If so) tell it to me. Do you know of any place that they say is haunted? What do you think about that?

3. Are there stories about snakes? (If so) tell them to me. Have you ever had any scary things happen with a snake?

4. Have you ever heard of people handling snakes in a church service? Do you believe these stories? Why or why not?

5. How about healing? Do you believe people can be healed through another person? Why or why not? Have you ever heard of someone who was healed? What happened?

6. Is there somebody you know who's a good story teller? What kinds of stories do they tell? What do you think makes a good story teller?

Adolescent Questionnaire

I. Current Activities

1. What sorts of games do the kids play around here? How do you play? How do you decide who's IT? Are there any rhymes you say? Do you build forts or tree houses much? How? Other favorite activities.

2. Do you like to watch TV? What are some of your favorite programs? Can you tell me about one of the recent ones you saw? What happened? Have you ever seen the Waltons? What do you think of it?

3. Do you have a lot of family that lives around here? Do you get together for special occasions like Christmas, or Thanksgiving? Can you remember a special present you got for Christmas? Are there any other holidays that you really like (Easter, Halloween, birthday)? What do you do?

4. Do you have special chores that you're supposed to do around home? What are they? What happens if you don't do them?

5. Do you have a pet? (What's it like?) Did you ever take care of a stray animal? What happened to it?

For teenagers only

6. Do you like music? What kind do you like? Why? Do you have a favorite singer? What are they like?

II. Everyday Living

1. What are some of the things people grow here in their gardens? Have you ever had a garden yourself or worked on one? When's the best time to start planting?

2. Do you have some friends who have moved away from this area -- to a city? Do they ever come back? Why do you think they leave? And why do they come back?

3. What season of the year do you like best? How come? Can you remember a real bad snow? Or a bad flood? What was it like?

4. Do your parents have any special things they do for you when you're sick? What do they do for a cold? Measles? Mumps?

5. Do you ever have fights with your brothers and sisters? What sorts of things do kids fight about? How do fights usually start? Are there any rules for fair fights? Did you ever get into a fight with somebody bigger than you? What happened?

6. Did you ever get blamed for something you didn't do? What happened?

7. If you could do anything you wanted for a whole day, what would you do? Why do you think you'd like that?

8. Do you talk differently to your parents than you do to your friends or brothers and sisters? How about to a teacher? What do you think the

difference is? Do you think the people on TV talk the same way you do? Do you know anybody that tried to change the way he talked?

For boys only

9. Do you do a lot of hunting? What types of animals do you go hunting for? Have you ever heard of any dangerous hunting stories -- like about bears or a dog fighting with a wild animal? Tell me about it.

III. Remembering

1. Do you remember your first days at school? What were they like?

2. Did anybody ever play a trick on the teacher? What happened? What happens when you have a substitute teacher?

3. Are there any special things that happen in school that you really like?

4. Do you ever remember getting lost? Or a brother and sister or friend getting lost? Tell me about it.

5. When you wake up in the morning, do you usually remember dreams that you had the night before? Is there a dream you remember real good? What was it about?

6. Do you have a favorite aunt or uncle? What are they like?

7. Have you ever been in or seen an accident? Was it bad? What happened

For teen-agers only

8. Do you know of anybody who got drunk and did something crazy? What happened?

IV. Tradition

1. Lots of people talk about ghosts. Do you believe they could be real? Why or why not?

2. Do you know any ghost stories that people tell each other? (If so) tell it to me. Do you know about any place that they say is haunted? What do you think about that?

3. Are there stories about snakes? (If so) tell them to me. Did you ever have a scary thing happen with a snake?

4. Is there anybody you know who's a good storyteller? What kinds of stories do they tell? (What makes a good storyteller?)

Interview Number 31

(67 year old retired miner)

FW: Okay, what sort of games did you play when you were a youngster?

INF: Oh, we played hop scotch, baseball, ring around the roses, little kid games.

FW: They still play alot of that now, don't they?

INF: Uh huh.

FW: Well, Mr. Hartwick, how do you spend a typical day? What are some of the things you have to do?

INF: Do I have to do?

FW: Yeah.

INF: Oh, I don't have to do much of... I just run around trade their knives, and watches and guns a little once in a while, maybe, and set around the rest of the day and chew tobaccer.

FW: Okay, do you watch TV?

INF: A whole lot.

FW: Do you like it?

INF: Fine.

FW: What are some of your favorite TV programs?

INF: Well, news, sports and the Waltons, I like that. And old Sanford and Son. Any kind of comedy.

FW: Okay, do you see Sanford and Son this week?

INF: No, I haven't this week, I missed that. The grandchildren's home and they wanted to watch something else and I just give in to 'em.

FW: Okay, can you tell me about one of the recent programs you just saw, something that happened on it you thought might be interesting?

INF: Which... of the TV programs?

FW: Uh huh.

INF: Oh, I watch Animal Kingdom. And that's pretty interesting, you see old, what's his name, that's catching all those animals? He's the, he's the head of that St. Louis Zoo. What's his name? I can't think. But anyway I watch that every weekend.

FW: Have you ever seen the Waltons on TV?

INF: Oh yeah. I love that.

FW: What do you think about the way it makes out life?

INF: It's a typical way of life back when I grew up.

FW: Okay, you think that it's a good picture of the way things used to be?

INF: It is.

FW: You think it's true.

INF: I think it's the nearest to the real thing of anything I've saw.

FW: Well, they seem down to earth, don't you think, just good honest people.

INF: Yes, they do. Hard back Hoover times, you know, nobody had any money.

FW· Hard working.

INF: Raised what they eat.

FW: Okay, do you like music?

INF: Oh, yeah, play a fiddle a little myself.

FW: Well, good, what kind of music do you like?

INF: Well, just plain old country and western and bluegrass. And I watch Lawrence Welk a lot, I like his program too.

FW: Well, he's on every night isn't he?

INF: I don't think so now, is he? He was on just one night a week, that is on channel six.

FW: Oh, yeah, that's right, he's on channel six and channel seven.

INF: Well, we see him about twice a week. I have for the last week or ten or two.

FW: You know they were going to take him off of the air so he just turned around and bought his own network.

INF: He bought it out. And did you see that little girl that, he and his wife followed him around and made him listen to a recording and he hired her.

FW: He did?

INF: Uh huh, that last one he hired. They used to be down here in Tennessee somewhere.

FW: No, I haven't seen it real lately.

INF: I forget her name.

FW: Well, do you have a favorite singer? Who's your favorite singer?

INF: Singer? Tennessee Ernie Ford.

FW: Yeah, well, he sure is good. Ike, do you have alot of family that live around here?

INF: Oh, yeah.

FW: Do you all get together for reunions or...

INF: Well, not in the last year or two, but we did. There's only twelve of us kids a-living, one dead and my mother's living. She's eighty-five and she taught us about all, any of us ever knew, that is, until we got up to get out on our own.

FW: Do your children come in for Christmas or Thanksgiving?

INF: Well, not all of 'em at the same times. They sometimes happen in at the same time for Christmas and Thanksgiving but hardly ever. Usually one or two of 'em in.

FW: Well, do you remember one that was outstanding or one that you have... you can remember real well that was a lot of fun or something?

INF: With my children?

FW: Uh huh, a family get together?

INF: Oh, yeah, my oldest one, he's dead now, yeah, he was an awful lot of fun. Enjoyed life awful well. He died the first of February, sixty-eight.

FW: How did he die?

INF: Liver failure.

FW: Good gracious, did he have children?

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INF: Five.

FW: Five children.

INF: Four or five, I believe, is right.

FW: Did he live around here?

INF: Right in Springfield, Virginia, when he died.

FW: Ike, what are some of things people grow here in their gardens?

INF: Oh, potatoes, tomatoes, or did you want me to say 'maters and 'taters? Tomatoes and potatoes, peppers, corn, and uh, cabbage, carrots, radishes.

FW: Did you have a garden this year?

INF: A small one.

FW: Small one? Do you know anything about when the best time is to start planting things?

INF: Well...

FW: How do you plant?

INF: We always planted our corn around the tenth of June or tenth of May, and beans in June, tender beans, tough beans a little later on, and, I don't remember the dates we plant the cucumbers, but it's always, my mother in the Twins, when the sign was in the Twins, she would plant her cucumbers. She claims she'd get two for one by planting them in the Twins.

FW: Okay, when do you pick?

INF: You mean gather the garden and stuff? As it ripens and matures.

FW: What's usually last coming in?

INF: Tough hull beans. I'd say would be the last thing that you'd gather.

FW: And it takes awhile for the corn, and the corn...?

INF: Yeah, it usually cut corn in September and October. Or pick it, whatever they do. We always just cut and shocked ours.

FW: Yeah.

INF: Didn't have any pickers.

FW: Well, did you hear of people planting according to the signs?

INF: Oh yes, plenty of people yet.

FW: You think they still do?

INF: A lot of 'em do yet, yes.

FW: Do you think it works?

INF: Well I never could tell it did, but, they bet on that. Now, I saw a fellow Parks down at Jolo, he wouldn't kill a hog only on the dark of the moon.

FW: Why?

INF: He said if you killed it in light moon that the meat, when you fried it, would turn up around the edges. You've fried it when it would do that? And when you, if you fried it in dark, killed it in dark moon it'd lay down flat when you fried it. And it had more grease in it, in the dark moon if you killed it. And always feed 'em corn the last two or three months before you kill 'em, it makes their meat solid and firm.

FW: What, is that grain feeding them?

INF: Uh huh, feed them corn.

FW: You have to take them in, don't you? Oh, do you think these things work? Planting by the signs, and killing, and...

INF: I wouldn't say that they do or don't, but I don't pay it any mind, I just plant when I get the ground ready and the ground gets warm enough to, so the seed won't rot.

FW: Well we have so much cold weather and stuff you just have to plant when you can. What seasons of the year do you like best?

INF: Well, it's hard to say. There's parts of all of it. I used to like winter the best. But now that I'm older I don't.

FW: How come you liked winter?

INF: Well, you get out and hunt and do a lot of things in winter you couldn't in the summer, possum hunt and, such as that, rabbits and squirrels, pheasant.

FW: Well, can you remember when we had a real bad winter?

INF: Yes ma'am, nineteen seventeen.

FW: Good gracious.

INF: That's the worst one I can remember. Oh, I'll tell you that, my uncle lived about a mile from where we did and I sold papers, and I'd have to walk out there and half the time during seventeen you couldn't go the road, you'd have to go through the fields where the wind had blowed the snow off and there was drifts you couldn't see the fence out through there in places.

FW: Good gracious. Were you stuck out in the snow? Did you ever...?

INF: Oh yeah, we'd get out and I never was stuck up in it but we would get out in the snow and romp through it. My dad and me used to go down to a fellow by the name of Burke, barefooted every night nearly. Him and Roy would come up to our place.

FW: He'd walk up barefooted?

INF: Barefoot. They would, to our house, it was about, oh, five hundred feet I guess, maybe a little better. Then maybe the next night we'd go down barefooted. My dad and my ma would play "set back" in the winter. There's a lot of fun in the winter time, sleigh-riding, playing games, and, when you can't get out and do a lot of other things.

FW: Uh huh, do you enjoy fishing?

INF: Oh yeah. Yeah I used to fish a lot when I was a little boy. Now I got so short winded that I can't. Can't do the walking 'ere is in it.

FW: Uh huh, do you still hunt very much?

INF: Oh yeah, I hunt a little bit.

FW: What do you like to hunt?

INF: Oh, squirrels, and turkey, and rabbits, pheasant, quail.

FW: Well, Ike, is there a special way to cook wild game? You don't...

INF: Well, now I never cooked anything other than coon.

FW: How do you cook that?

INF: Well, I don't know. Some says one way and some another. Now my wife just put it on in a pot and pressure cooked it, but I didn't like it, didn't like coon but, now all the other I mentioned, the pheasant and the squirrel and the rabbit, now I like 'em fried. And the squirrel boiled and gravy in it. I'm a sloppy sopper when it comes to eating gravy. Love gravy.

FW: What about turkeys, wild turkeys?

INF: Well, you just cook 'em like you would a tame turkey, but roast 'em.

FW: You know that I heard that if you'd cook an apple, put an apple and grapes in 'em that it does something to that wild flavor and makes it even better. I saw that on Dinah's Place last week.

INF: Well, I tell you, we cooked a coon they said put a couple of big onions in it and cook it, you couldn't taste the wild, but that's all a bunch of crap you can't taste the onion and the meat tastes like it did without the onion 'cause we tried it both ways. They's no difference that I can tell.

FW: Is that greasy?

INF: Yeah, it makes it a little bit greasy. Now, I'll tell you what I do like. You take a squirrel and boil 'im in with a piece of pork or throw 'im in when you cooking spare ribs or back bones. Put 'im right in there and cook 'im with that and it makes 'im awful good.

FW: Well, do you remember any bad floods here? Can you remember when we had any real bad floods?

INF: Well, in nineteen and I believe it was fifty-six is about the worst one I can remember around here. I believe that was in April of fifty-six. I's working in the mines at Arista and you couldn't get to the shop with the car, you had to go up as far as the store and walk the rest of the way.

FW: Uh huh. Did anyone get killed?

INF: Not that I know of.

FW: Okay, did your parents have any special things they did for you when you were sick, when you were small, do you remember any of these?

INF: Oh, nothing more 'n they tried to take care of us the best they could. When I was a boy, you know, that's been a long time and, such as measles, they had a different way of treating 'em, they wouldn't give you a drop of cold water then, but now they want to give you ice water, plenty of it, to break you out. And, pneumonia they had mustard poultice and stuff of that sort of break it out.

FW: How do you make a mustard poultice?

INF: Well, now, my mother had a coffee mill she'd tighten up you can adjust it you know and she'd grind the mustard seed in 'at thing and she mixed it with a little flour and, vinegar. I don't know whether she used anything else in or not. Boy, it'll burn you plumb up.

FW: Do you put onion in it?

INF: No.

FW: Just mustard and vinegar?

INF: And a little flour to kind a hold it together.

FW: Did they just rub that right on your...

INF: No, they put it in a cloth and fold it over, it'd be right soupy wet, you know, and just lay it on you, and boy it will bring you up out of there, it will blister you in five minutes.

FW: Oh, it breaks up your cold then.

INF: It'll break it up, the congestion.

FW: What about the mumps? Do you remember any different...

INF: I don't remember too much about the mumps. I know one thing, I couldn't eat a pickle. I was small when, let's see, I wasn't but about nine or ten years old when I had them things. Chicken pox, small pox, I had a vaccinate for small pox and they didn't take a good hold of me, I had 'em but didn't hurt me much.

FW: Uh huh. Did you go to the doctor very much then, or...

INF: No, the doctor came to you. You'd just send for him or go after 'im. Dad would always go after 'im for us kids if we needed him, but he didn't believe in going to a doctor ever time you had a pain in your belly. They would treat us theirselves.

FW: Uh huh, and, do you remember anything else they did, like for any special ailment?

INF: Well, nothing more 'n pulling teeth, he had the blacksmith to make him a pair of forceps over at the (inaudible) and if one of us kids 'd get a toothache he'd pull it. And we held back on that all we could.

FW: Well, did he use anything on it after he pulled it?

INF: No, no, washed it out with warm salt water.

FW: And that was it.

INF: That was it.

FW: Did you tell him when you had the toothache?

INF: I wouldn't tell him if I could help it, and see they weren't anything like aspirin or pain killers back them days that you could get. They had it but you couldn't get it and take it oral like a aspirin.

FW: Did they use whiskey alot?

INF: Do which?

FW: Well, do they use whiskey alot back then?

INF: Well, now my folks never was bad to use whiskey for anything like that. Now, Dad would make a ginger stew with whiskey, give it to us kids if we got the flu or something like that.

FW: What's a ginger stew?

INF: Take the ginger, grind it up right fine, you know, and boil it in some water and put the whiskey in a little bit of water and drink it. That's the awfullest tasting stuff in the world but it 'll sweat you plumb to death.

FW: And it will get rid of the cold?

INF: It will sweat the fire out of you.

FW: Okay, now, like I'm thinking if they were going to pull some teeth, did they use whiskey on it to numb it or...?

INF: Oh, sometimes if you could get a hold of it, but if you 's old enough they'd let you drink it, drink you a little bit, and kinda get on, you didn't care what they done to you. They could saw your head off.

FW: Oh, that's why they used whiskey. Okay, what about when babies were born.

INF: Now, that's something that we never knew much about, they always sent us somewhere else. Out to my Aunt's or one of the neighbor's houses. When it was all over then they come and got us.

FW: Uh huh, well did, like when your wife had her first children did she go to the hospital or did the doctor...

INF: No, she only went to the hospital with the last 'ns, the twins. The others were born home, Doctor Harley delivered all of them except the one, and Doctor Pack delivered the other one.

FW: Well, and he came to the house?

INF: Oh yeah.

FW: Did he have any women there helping? Like midwife?

INF: Yeah, uh huh, there'd be usually a couple of women. My Aunt Polly Hartwick, she was there when two or three of my children were born, and she was...she helped deliver me when I was born.

FW: Uh huh.

INF: Them old midwives, you can't beat 'em.

FW: Well, don't you think the women got along just as well.

INF: As far as I can see, they got along as good. Now, they'll get you up the next day after the baby's born and then they made you stay in bed ten days before you got up.

FW: You think that was good for 'em, better than getting up right off the bat?

INF: Well I don't believe they should get up the first day or two, I believe they should rest a couple of days, you know that's a terrible experience.

FW: It sure is.

INF: Now of course I've never been there, but I 's a sightseer a few times and I think that's the nearest death a women 'll ever be in her life.

FW: Well, what about the babies, do you think they're all right. They just left them at home, right? Did the doctor examine the babies?

INF: Yeah, they cut the naval string and fixed that all up and back when I was a boy. Now, you see so many children with navels sticking out, you know, way out here as long as your finger and the awfullest looking things. They made 'em wear a band around 'em for so many days, you know, Ma'd grease 'em with mutton's tallow and put over the place, you know, and pin it right on 'em. I don't know how long they would leave it, but, for a right smart while. And it wasn't a dang one of them that ever had it that kind of a-looking deformed navel.

FW: Yeah, and now they don't do anything to them.

INF: I don't think so, I know one of mine had a kind of a ruptured navel, and I kept a silver dollar in a thing right over it in a band to let heal up, that kept it down the weight and so forth.

FW: Yeah, well, do you have some friends who have a way from the area to a big city or somewhere else. When they leave here, do you think they come back, the young people, have you noticed any? A lot of times they all think they oughta leave here, but sooner or later don't you think they usually come back? Why do you think they come back or why do you think they even leave to begin with?

INF: Well, you always heard it says, a bird comes home to roost. Now they'll take off, a lot of 'em and they come back and you can't hardly understand 'em, they can't talk, they try to pick up the lingo that they learned at the other place.

FW: Right off in a week or so.

INF: In two weeks they'll pick it up, or they'll try to pick it up. They'll come back home in a month or two and you can't understand what they're saying, and, but in the end they all filter back.

FW: Why do you think they leave?

INF: Well, they think this grass is greener on down the road. 'Course now jobs around this neck of the woods has... about mining is about all 'ere is. And there's alot of them don't like the mines and they'll go somewhere and work at different jobs, construction working and, factories and this, and when they get their barrel full or get tired of the job they come back home.

FW: Yeah, do you think they like to raise their children in big cities?

INF: Do I think they do? No. All of my children says they don't like it. And I know I wouldn't, they's too many things to get into. Out on a farm's the best place to raise children.

FW: They learn how to work, honest work, work for what...

INF: Well, you can't get these doggone old boys to work anymore. They won't work for you.

FW: No, you can't get anyone to do anything for you.

INF: And if they do, their darn hair's so long that they can't see what they're doing. Spend half their time a-raking it back out of their eyes.

FW: And they don't know how to do anything.

INF: They don't know, they've never been taught, they never will know anything. And, I 's talking to a foreman the other day in a coal mine. He said, Ike, he said "You wouldn't work as a foreman anymore", I says "Why?" "Well", he said, "you show them boys something to do and they don't know how to dig even down, much less do anything else." And he says, "It's just a terrible job to try to train 'ose boys. They're good boys, but they've never been taught anything and you just got a problem."

FW: What do you think of all these young people on welfare?

INF: Well, if they're sick or their parents or the boys are sick and disabled to work why, I'm in favor of 'em having it. But they's a lot of 'em on there that is stout, able-bodied men and boys and they could make it on their own. Now, I'll tell you, people say, "Oh, I can't find a job, I can't find a job." They's a job for you if you want it. If you'll hunt for it. It may not come to you, but it's there.

FW: What, you see all these people in the grocery store, a lot of times, pull out from the grocery store in a new Buick or a new Cadillac, go inside and they pay for their groceries with food stamps.

INF: Plenty of that. Dressed a lot better than I can dress.

FW: What do you think about that? What do you think they oughta do?

INF: Well, they oughta stop it. It's just a-draining the taxpayers plumb to death and now they're wanting, Ford, they want Ford to give Nixon or Ford's a-wanting to, 450,000 dollars, just hand it out to 'im. He's no better than I am. Why don't they give me some of that 450,000 dollars? I'm retired, I could use it. He's got plenty.

FW: Uh huh. Well, do you think things have changed much in the last few years?

INF: Yes. Well, in two or three different ways. Now, you can go out anywhere and buy a beer, and you see girls and boys a-running around filthy, raggedy dirty, old long hair, don't look like they've washed in six months. And the inflation, you pay now, you take your money to the store in a shopping bag and bring your groceries back in your pocket. And, used to, you took your money in your pocket and brought your groceries back in a shopping bag. It's just reversed. And, now that could be cut down, that's just some of this Republican junk and my way of looking at it, Nixon's responsible for the whole thing. Now, they's a-gonna be a end to it. It may get worse, but it'll get better some of these days, I may not be here to see it, but somebody'll enjoy it.

FW: Do you think children have changed much, young people?

INF: Well, nothing more than they think the country owes 'em a living, and they're not a-gonna work for it if they can get out of it. If things would suddenly change back like it was in nineteen and twenties and the early thirties, ninety-nine percent of 'em would starve to death, they too lazy to work. And, that's the only way you had of getting it, growing it yourself mostly on a farm. I worked for a dollar and eighty cents a day and my Dad was disabled and I gave him part of that.

FW: How many children were in your family?

INF: Oh, they was twelve of us kids, not at that time, after I got old enough to work, two of the girls was married, the rest of us was home we farmed and grew about everything we eat, other than coffee and sugar, you know, the things that you can't grow around here. We raised our hogs and had cows, we had our milk and butter and cornmeal and now we didn't raise no wheat, we bought our flour but outside of that we grew the rest of it, our cornbread, butter and buttermilk, sweet milk and molasses, we made them and I used to love them things... The old cane molasses.

FW: Well, what do you think about the difference in morality? Don't you think back then people were, seemed to have more pride than they do now?

INF: Lord have mercy, you know, Betsy, when I was a boy, if you seen a woman's knee you had done seen something, and now you can just see anything they've got. The girls, young girls they wear their pants down just as far as they can get 'em and then a little short shirt of a thing that shows their belly wide open to the public. I don't think that's decent.

FW: No. Braless, all these halter tops showing everything.

INF: It's all right to look at, but, I declare, it won't do to die by. Don't you think I'm right?

FW: I agree with you. Don't you think the young people just don't care?

INF: I believe they've got a I-don't-give-a-damn attitude. Like the colored man's mule, it was blind, he'd run into everything and the man asked him, said, "That mule's blind?" "No, he ain't blind, he just don't give a damn." But, now I think that's the attitude that most of 'em take.

FW: And do their own thing. Think they can do anything they want to.

INF: And not be reprimanded for it. I think they oughta be turned across your knee and lay the lash on 'em. The parents' fault. Why, they won't make them mind you. Why, if I'd a done the things when I was a boy that they do now my Daddy'd kill me. Now, he didn't believe in this here horsing around. And, if he told you to do something, you done it, and not only my Dad, all of the parents around through the country where I was raised, when they asked their children to do something, they went and done it. If it was clean out the barn, or hoe out the corn, or the potatoes or whatever they had, build fence, cut brush, anything that come handy, we done it. And there was no belly-aching about it. And when they come to the bed of morning and said, "All right, get up boys, time to get out of here and go to work." you better come out, if he come back a second time he brought his razor strap with him. Now, that's facts, and I think it's the way you're brought up more or less that... the way you're gonna end up.

FW: What do you think about all this dope, and

INF: Oh, that's outrageous and not only that, whiskey. Whiskey should be outlawed, all kind of dope. It's just like putting a dang hog in a corn crib full of corn and say "Don't eat that corn!" Well now, that pig's gonna eat some of that corn. Same way with this other junk a-running around over the country. That dope, you know people has to try and be seen. Like, the man from Missouri, he don't believe it, he got to show him. So, all these, not all, but a lot of these teenagers, "Let me try that!" And, if they get a kick out of it, it's like taking a drink of whiskey, you take a drink or two of whiskey and it makes you feel pretty good, you want another 'n, you want to feel better. And the more you drink the better you feel 'til I reckon you feel, the first thing you know, you don't know anything. You're dead to the world. And then, a lot of 'em go on and drink every day, after they get into it and that puts 'em on the green hillside. Oh, I'll tell you, I read a little article in a paper, in a magazine, where some dude said, yesterday would make, I mean, the girls of today woulda made mothers of yesterday ashamed of theirself cooking. That the girls this day and time cook so much better. If they couldn't get it out of a tin can they couldn't cook you a can of soup. It comes out of the can and bread off a the shelf. Well, that's ruined more good women than anything in the world this old light bread. My old woman in there has made as good a biscuits than you ever stuck in your mouth, but she's got away from it, she don't make 'em often enough. I don't care what you do, you got to keep it up in order to do it good and properly.

FW: And keep doing it better.

INF: That's right, practice makes perfect.

FW: Young women just cook those TV dinners. Whatever is the quickest.

INF: I hate them things.

FW: I do too, I think they're not fit to eat.

INF: I wouldn't give a nickel a piece for them.

FW: Does your wife do any canning? How does she preserve food? Does she do any canning?

INF: Oh yeah, she's canned, I helped her some, her hand was crippled up, arthritis, and I'd tighten the tops for 'er, help her that way, get 'em out and carry them to the basement. We canned green beans and apple sauce, and berries, hot peppers, and she made a batch of jelly, some blackberry jelly, jam, and some peach marmalade the other day, she made a bunch of that. And, we've canned, it's around a hundred and twenty-five quarts, I'd say.

FW: Well, do you freeze food too, do you have a freezer?

INF: I don't have a freezer, nothing more 'an what's in my the frigerator, it's got a small one on the top, but, we don't freeze too much stuff. She's got some corn in 'ere now just a little bit, a fellow gave me some the other day, we didn't raise any corn and, she put some of that in there and she canned part of it.

FW: Uh huh, do you like frozen corn on the cob? Do you like that?

INF: I never tried any. I like corn on the cob very well, but I'd rather have it cut off and a thickening put with it and cook it that way. That's the way my mother cooked it, mostly all of us liked it that way.

FW: Uh huh. Do you cook it and then cut it off or do you cut it off before?

INF: Cut it off before.

FW: And then you just cook it?

INF: Yeah, put a thickening in it, kind a like making gravy or something, and cook it.

FW: Do you remember anything about churning? Did your mother churn butter?

INF: Well, I've churned a lot, I'd rather've took a beating. You have to sit there and churn that dang thing. Oh yeah, boy did we churn butter for years. Ma, let's see, oh, she hadn't been away from that, til about ten years ago. And, I used to buy butter from 'er all the time, buttermilk.

FW: How do you churn butter? What do you do?

INF: Well, she would take her cream from the cow's milk and put it over in a separate container and let it stay in there. Well, if you kept it cold, it wouldn't turn. What I mean by that it wouldn't sour enough for us to make butter. Now, a lot of people makes it from sweet cream, but I don't think it's as good. And let it 'til she'd get three or four gallon of that, and pour it in a churn, and it had a lid with a hole in it and an old homemade dasher and, a handle up through there, you'd just slosh that up and down 'til the butter come to the top. Sometimes it'd be three or four or five pound. About a pound to the gallon. And then she'd take it out of 'ere and work it, work the water out of it and salt it to taste, you know, the way we liked it and put it in a print, every pound, and lay it out kept it where we had a spring house where the water come running down, we had a little trough in there where water'd stay about a inch or two inches deep in it, and she'd set it in 'ere to keep it cold.

FW: Could you keep it a long time?

INF: Well, in the summer you couldn't keep it too awful long, of course, now you take twelve kids and it didn't last long anyhow, and hot biscuits and butter, that's good eating.

FW: Well, did she ever make soap? How do you make homemade soap?

INF: Well, she never did make her own lye, now back when she was a girl she showed me, I've seen 'ose things, it was a hopper, built you know, a little at the bottom, and bigger at the top. And they'd take the wood ashes and dump in there and as it rained in it and water, you want to pour water in it, all right, and it would drip, that's what they call drip lye. It was kind a the color of iodine, and that stuff was strong as the devil. And then they'd put meat scraps, fat, in 'ere, and, that would eat that up and they'd a boil it and make soap. I've washed a many and a many a time with it.

FW: Do you think that's hard on your complexion?

INF: I don't know whether it hurt mine or not. It'd be hard to say, not knowing.

FW: Well, Ike, do you remember your first days at school, what were they like?

INF: I remember the first day I went to school, but I, as to what went on I don't, but I remember, I never will forget it. Mother packed me a lunch in a little old half gallon syrup bucket. Put me some tomatoes I can yet, once in a while I'll get a tomato that reminds me of that and that's, that's been sixty years ago. And, she'd always fix me a good lunch and I looked forward to that. Sit down, and all of us would sit down in the school, if we wanted to, you could go outside and eat in the summer. But, we'd always sit down in 'ere and eat our lunch. I'll never forget that first days of school, only had to walk about a mile.

FW: They didn't have buses?

INF: Oh, we didn't even know what a bus was, didn't even have a taxi automobile, nothing like that. First car I ever saw was along about well, I started to school about twelve, nineteen twelve, I guess, and the first automobile I ever saw was along about fourteen or fifteen.

FW: And you walked how far?

INF: About a mile.

FW: About a mile, did you go all day?

INF: Yes, we uh, from nine o'clock until four. And, we'd take, we'd have, fifteen or thirty minutes at ten-thirty, then at noon we'd have one hour, and then about two or two-thirty, I forget which, we'd have another fifteen or thirty minutes, then when school turned out at four o'clock, you'd go on home.

FW: How many rooms?

INF: Two. Two rooms, they had, from the first grade, they didn't have a primer them days, first grade through the third, in what we call the little room. The little children went in 'at one. Then, in the other room, we had four through the eighth in 'at.

FW: And one woman taught all these different grades?

INF: There's two teachers there. One taught the small children in what we called the little room from the first through the third, in the big room we'd call that one, they taught the fourth through the eighth.

FW: Was she strict?

INF: Some of 'em were, some weren't.

FW: Uh huh. Did you enjoy going to school?

INF: Yes, I loved it. But, I, I've went through the eighth grade twice. I wouldn't go to high school, I got a job and went to work and, back them days, you know, education didn't amount to much. When you got able to work, and they'd hire you, you'd go to work, try to make a living.

FW: Uh huh. Were there many in your class, do you remember?

INF: Oh, they was, I'd say, fifteen, maybe and each, in the, let's see, fourth grade, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth that's five grades, I'd say they'd be about forty, maybe fifty in the whole, all tha classes.

FW: What did she discipline you with, do you remember that?

INF: Dern board and stick, she's usually send one of the scholars out and cut a width for her to thrash you.

FW: Do you remember getting any?

INF: No, I got one, Ray Davis, you might know Ray, from Matoaka, used to be a federal man over Bluefield, not at the same post office, Ray, that's over there though, he held me and Curtis Green pourt snow down my neck and there was a set of twins there, Al Farmer's girls, they brought their lunch in a two pound lard bucket. Well, they turned me loose and I grabbed up one of those buckets, and cut down on them and I hit Brook in the back of the head with it and cut a place about two inches long in the scalp and the teacher thrashed me, that's the only one I ever got, I would a got another one but I left, I didn't stay for it.

FW: Okay, do you remember your first girlfriend?

INF: No.

FW: You don't remember her?

INF: No. No. That is really, I'd just go with first one the other, I remember the first one I dated regular. We had a pretty good time.

FW: Where did you meet her?

INF: Church.

FW: Church? Do you remember when you first fell in love?

INF: Oh yeah. Yeah, that's the hardest fall, isn't it?

FW: Were you sick very long, Ike?

INF: Well, not exactly, until we were married I's a hurting pretty bad.

FW: Okay, what are some of the important things to remember when you're raising kids, what do you think people oughta do now? When you're raising your kids?

INF: Well, I didn't do it myself, but I think the most important thing when you're raising your children is to go to church with them every Sunday and between Sunday if it's, if you can, 'course a lot of times you can't, and grow up a-hunting with them instead a-hunting for them. 'Course now, I shoulda went with mine but I didn't. They went, the girls went, but the boys never did care nothing about going to Sunday School, but the girls went every Sunday, down Mount Olvie, and I always encouraged them to go, I didn't try to get them not to, and I encouraged the boys to go but I wouldn't go and so they said, like father like son, I reckon, and so they didn't go either. We like to hunt and we done fished, we done 'at together. Me and the boys and the dog.

FW: How many boys do you have?

INF: I did have two, I've got one now.

FW: Uh huh, and the rest girls?

INF: Uh huh, four girls and two boys.

FW: Well, do you think people ought to be strict on them, you know, try to keep them in, have rules and make them go?

INF: They should have rules to go by they can set up and watch television 'til a certain hour. If they got homework to do, do that and then watch television til the allotted time. A child can't lay up all night, watch television or out here at these old places a-running around, and do any good in school. Now, you've got to draw a line somewhere.

FW: And stick to the rules.

INF: That's right, have strict rules. I believe in letting 'em go but I don't believe in just giving 'em the reins and let's say, here, you go ahead, lay out all you want, I don't believe in 'at.

FW: What do you think about spanking them?

INF: If they need it, lay it on 'em. If you tell a child, now I'll give you a spanking if you do that, and if he goes and does it, then he asks for that. You done told him what you was going to do if he done that, now if you don't, you lie to him. And, if he catch you in one lie, he'll say well, Daddy lied about that or Mother did so I'll do it again.

FW: What do you think about the TV programs? Do you think TV's good for young people?

INF: Some of it is, and some of it I wouldn't care about mine watching it, although we watched anything that come along, I bought one of them things in nineteen fifty, and Huntington was all we could get, and couldn't get it very well. We'd set up on Saturday nights and watch the wrassling that come on and then other programs, but we all would stay up and watch the wrassling.

FW: Well, did the children like to watch it then?

INF: Oh, yeah, they loved it.

FW: What do you think are some of the good programs for children?

INF: Well, The Walton's is a good program, Lawrence Welk's a good program, the news sometimes it's pretty rotten, it puts things in children's head, but maybe I can do that and get by with it. You know, children has, they always want to challenge the worst and what God don't want you to do that's what you wanna do. You always want to do that you're commanded not to do. Why, you tell me. But, now, they's a lot of good programs that I could mention, we see them just every little bit, I know I do, I see a lot of 'em on there that's good, clean programs. Some of these country and western, some of these singers come out with some pretty dirty things. It depends on, I reckon, the way you look at it, but it's not, I don't think, too awful good. Now, everybody don't have the same opinions.

FW: Yeah, have you ever seen that Sesame Street or...

INF: Yeah, I have, they's nothing wrong with that. That's a good program for children.

FW: Uh huh, don't you think that's real good?

INF: It is.

FW: They can learn a lot from it.

INF: I know that grandson of mine has learned a lot from it.

FW: Well they teach you, you know, how to count and the colors and things like that. A lot of women don't have time to spend. Do you think women spend enough time with their children" What do you think about women working?

INF: Well, now you liable to get me in a tight spot but I think that women that has small children should stay home with them until they start to school. Then, if she wants to work the hours that the child goes to school, that's okay. But now, you take...you take...two or three children and Tom, Dick, and Harry looks after 'em. That child, you does one thing, he does another, and the third party does another, and maybe eight or ten will babysit with those children. Well, it's kind a like going to church, you get confused, you don't know which is right. Just like going to church, you go up here to one church and they tell you you go to hell if you smoke a cigarette and the other one tell you you don't, you just go part of the way, and first thing you know you don't know what to believe. Read your Bible's the best thing, when it comes to that. But now, getting back to the, I think a mother should wait til her children is ready for school, then, if she wants to work, that's okay. What do you think about it?

FW: Well, I think that I agree with you. I think if you have other people raise your children, then you shouldn't be disappointed later on with what they do because you weren't there to train them.

INF: And it's hard to tell, You know a lot of these fellows has men folks to babysit with children, boys and girls, girls up to ten or twelve years old. Some of 'em's afraid to leave them, afraid they'll set the house a fire or of they's any whiskey in the house they'll drink that, and they will. Some of 'em will try out something new and they's been a lot of crimes committed right there by babysitters.

FW: Did you read in the paper, a Huntington paper, where this couple had a young girl come in and babysit with their six-weeks-old daughter and while they were away, the parents were away, this girl had some friends in and they started taking pills, and she apparently went crazy or something and she put the baby in the oven, she thought that she was cooking a turkey.

INF: No, I didn't read that.

FW: That was in the news.

INF: But my aunt one time, she left the oven door down to put out a little more heat in the kitchen, it was in the wintertime, the old cat got up in 'ere to cool down to where he liked it and got in 'ere and set down and somebody come along, closed the oven door, so the next morning she gets up and builds a fire in the old coal range and baked the cat. She opened the door to put her bread in to bake it and there set the cat. Hide done busted off his skull and fell down and his meat just come off'n his bones.

FW: Oh, you're kidding!

INF: It's a fact.

FW: Oh, isn't that awful.

INF: Oh, I want to tell you one, maybe I shouldn't on this thing, but I'm a-gonna tell it anyway. My aunt was sick, and my uncle cooked breakfast. So, he washed his dishes up and everything and went out and harnessed up his horses to go plowing and run his hands in his pockets. Well, he hunted for the dishrag first, he couldn't find it. So he got him a new one, went out and harnessed his horses after while and went on to work and him, he chewed tobacco, you know, and reached his hand in his pocket to get him a chew of tobacco and found his dishrag. He'd stuck it in his pocket!

FW: Do you remember any more interesting stories, Ike? Like, cooking the cat?

INF: No, not right off hand, now, if it come to a bunch of jokes I could tell you enough to run that thing crazy.

FW: Well, have you heard any good jokes lately?

INF: Well, they wouldn't be fit for that. Uh, I laughed at John Parker. Do you know John Parker over at Ashmeade?

FW: No.

INF: Him and me and Jack Stern, we went to Bath County, Virginia, coon hunting. Went up to Leroy Buzzie's. And before I forgets I wanna tell you there's a Leroy Buzzie lived up there, and Al Crawley and Chuck McCoy, all of 'em lived in the same hollow 'ere.

FW: Buzzie. Where did you go, up in Bath County?

INF: Bath County, Virginia. Up on Little Bath Creek.

FW: I think that's where Charley goes every year.

INF: Yeah, I expect it is. Well, now they've got a cabin back down this side of that. Way down this side.

FW: They're mountain people, aren't they, Ike?

INF: No, not really. No... They...he used to be an Army man, the old man Leroy Buzzie, see, he's dead now. He was a retired Army man, and, we went up 'ere and John supposedly had a sack to put the coon in if we caught one. We's gonna try to bring it back alive so we tromped through the woods 'til along about six o'clock in the morning. The dogs treed up a big hollow chestnut oak, and we proceeded to cut the thing down. It's about three or four inches all the way around. About four foot through the stump. We tied the dogs and cut the thing down. Well, we cut it down and turned one dog loose, and he went down in that thing, way down in the old hollow of the tree and it forked, and we couldn't get up in there so he backed out and he tied 'im. And we's a-gonna chop the coon out if it was in there, I's a kinda halfway thought maybe it just treed a possum or something. Well, I chopped in and lo and behold, right on top of the dang coon. Eighteen pounder, Jack Stern says, kitten coon. I run in with the axe handle down in behind him to keep him from getting out or backing down in the tree. He reached, fooled around and got him by the hind legs and pulled that thing out it looked big as a sheep to me. Turned 'im loose, he said "kitten, Hell". We had an old carbide light and he turned that over and the lights were... that's all the light we had. And, we had to hunt it then and the dogs took right after the coon right down the holler and the dogs caught it and Jack beat us all down there. Went down there and he's a-holding three dogs in one hand and the coon in the other hand. And they's all a-trying to bite the coon and the coon a-trying to bite Jack and the dogs, and Jack pulled out a sack and it wasn't a dang thing but an old pillow case that Maggie had used, his wife, it was about wore out. So we fumbled around 'ere and finally got that coon in that sack and he aimed to close the top of it and the coon just tore the thing in half in two and down the holler he went again. With that sack on him, half of it and we caught that thing, and you know, E. F. Wurst finally pulled off his coveralls and we put that thing down in one of the legs of his coveralls and tied that coon up. He's tearing up everything we could get, we couldn't hold him he's so stout. And I brought that thing home and kept 'im about a month, fed 'im apples and stuff to eat so we could eat 'im. Well, I did I killed him and tried eat that thing, I'd just soon eat a tomcat or a polecat, I wouldn't make much difference. And, that's about the best coon hunt I believe I was on.

FW: Did you ever deer hunt any, or turkey?

INF: No, I never would deer, I object to getting killed.

FW: Deer hunting?

INF: Uh huh. There's too many crazy people in the woods shoots at anything that moves.

FW: Yeah, what about turkey hunting?

INF: Oh, I love turkey hunt.

FW: Where do you hunt?

INF: Pocahontas County, West Virginia, I've killed two, that's all I've ever killed. And, they're a smart bird, I'll tell you. They can see every direction and straight up to boot at the same time.

FW: Well, what about hearing, do they hear real well?

INF: You're dang tooting, they can hear. Why, you just break a stick and they'll...now if the wind's a-blowing real hard, they don't pay too much attention to you. That is, walking in the leaves. But, now, if everything's still, you better not move if he's one in sight, cause he'll see you move.

FW: Do you go out real early in the morning or...

INF: Oh, all hours of the day, anytime from early morning til dark.

FW: Do you just sit... How... What do you do turkey hunting?

INF: Well, if you're pretty good with a call, a lot of times you can call maybe you can call one out to you, if you get out and don't have any luck seeing any, get you a good spot, but that's dangerous, somebody's liable to slip around and shoot you, think you're a turkey. That's how most people know about hunting and you just call kinda like a turkey would make, you know about three counts on a caller, if they's one in hearing distance, and if you've got him fool...and are good enough to fool him, he'll answer you. And, you just keep calling and they'll keep coming to you. Now, a young one, you just make most any kind of a racket and bring 'im up to you, but an old residenter, you better not make a sour note on 'at call, if you do he's gone.

FW: Uh huh, and they're real smart, aren't they?

INF: Uh huh, they're easy killed.

FW: They are?

INF: Oh yeah.

FW: Oh, I thought they could get away.

INF: Now, if you hit one in the head, neck, you've got him. But, now hit him in the body or in the legs, 'em scoundrels, you can't hardly knock 'em down.

FW: You have to hit them in the head or neck?

INF: If you can hit 'em in the head or neck, or if you can hit 'em enough in the body you've got him.

FW: Uh huh. What other kind of hunting do you do? Other than coon and turkey?

INF: Squirrel, and rabbit, and pheasant, grouse, I think is the real name for 'em, we all just called 'em native pheasants, you know, boy they're good eating, too.

FW: I know, I've eaten them. I love them.

INF: I, too.

FW: Are they smart? Like turkeys?

INF: No, they're now, around here they won't fly up until you get pretty close to them. But up in Pocahontas County they're pretty wild. I reckon it's because so many hunters in there and shooting around. Well, I've walked by them and then they fly up and be in three foot of them.

FW: Where do you grouse hunt? Oh, in Pocahontas County?

INF: Well, no, if I was going to do any of that, of grouse hunting, I'd do it around here, around over my mother's.

FW: Do you take dogs?

INF: No, I never did use any dogs. I always just tromp around through the woods. In the winter time you can find their tracks and track 'em up. I know one time I told my mother, I's just an old boy, and over next to Bud Hyman's, in a valley there, a lot of grapes, briar berries, I told her I was going a-pheasant hunting. After school, I got my wood and stuff ready and I lit out and I run into, oh, they's must have been six or eight of 'em flew up about the same time and scared me, I didn't know I had a gun. Never even fired a shot.

FW: They are real good. I think they're delicious.

INF: Oh, and you take the broth off a those things after you boil them you know, get you a cup of broth and salt it and pepper it to taste, now that's as good a drink as anybody would want.

FW: You boil them and then you bake 'em, brown 'em a little, don't you?

INF: Well, now, some people do. My mother always just boiled 'em and made gravy out of them, like chicken and dumpling. And we always was foolish about gravy there at home, you know, and she always tried to fix it so we would like it, the way we all liked it. Now rabbit, she used to boil 'em, parboil 'em, and fry 'em, but, I like to take 'em and just wring your hands in the back, just about a half inch apart, plumb to the bone with a knife, and just put 'em in the skillet like you would a chicken, and fry 'em. Make gravy they's the best stuff and you ever eat.

FW: Have you ever eaten tame rabbit?

INF: One.

FW: Do you like it?

INF: I can't eat 'em with as good a stomach as I can the wild one, for some reason. They're good, but, no I've eat it, I've eaten it twice. Preacher Kinley, one time he had some, fried some tame rabbit cooked up, and a fellow gave me one, weigh about, oh, a pound and a half, two pound. It was good, but I still lean toward the wild one.

FW: Yeah, I think they're better. Do you hunt anything else other than...

INF: No, no that's about all the hunting I ever done was for just the small game. I went a-deer hunting twice last year, over here above Hinton and saw a buck each time and didn't get a shot at either one. One of 'em I almost ran over the thing that morning, it was foggy, just the other side of the bridge there at the dam. Standing right square in the middle of the dang road. Well, in our lane, and I said, Allen, Allen Bentley was driving, don't you hit that thing, it come right back in the truck on us. It would come right through the windshield and I could a killed it with a pistol, if I'd a had a pistol with me.

FW: Were there other people there with you?

INF: Just two of us in the truck, Rob Montley and Allen Benson, we was going up to Rob's brothers, above Hinton, and he just jumped down over the field, toward the lake, the dam there.

FW: And, none of you got any that day?

INF: No. No.

FW: And, you don't like to deer hunt?

INF: I told Rob, him and me went the next day. Allen didn't go with us and I told Rob, I said Rob, you know, he's just got one leg, I said "You and me's out here deer hunting." I says "if we killed one we couldn't get it home. I ain't got enough of breath to pull the thing and you ain't got but one leg, what would we do?" He said, "My brother's got a truck and a long rope would get 'im at-a-way." Oh, 'ey's a lot of fun, we used to go up in Pocahontas County. Mary went with me, my wife, and the boys, and the twins, we'd camp up there about three days and nights. Oh, we had the best time, there's several families would go, you know, and we'd cook up a lot of things to eat, and I'll tell you the best thing you can cook to eat out on a trip like that. Potatoes and corn beef, just cook your potatoes and put the corn beef in there, about three cans of that, and about a gallon of potatoes and I'll guarantee there won't be any left.

FW: What, do you boil potatoes before you go?

INF: No, I boil 'em there, just build us a fire. I made me a thing in the shop, it was about three foot square and I welded some angle iron on it so it wouldn't warp, build up a little furnace and put that, cook on that. Now, that's some real eating. And boil your coffee in an old bucket of some kind, I finally did buy me a big coffee pot, a gallon one, white one, and just boil your coffee, wasn't no such a thing as a percolator, it's better boiled anyway, better flavor. You don't have the grounds in the perked coffee you have in that, but, you spit them out.

Appendix C

Complete List of Informants in Sample

Tape No.	Age	Sex	Occupation of Head of Household
1	15	M	housewife
2	13	M	truck driver
3	23	F	salesman
4	13	M	coal miner
5	13	M	coal miner
6	14	M	unemployed
7	17	M	salesman
8	14	M	salesman
9	12	M	coal miner
10	14	M	construction worker
11	71	F	retired
12	13	M	housewife
13	12	M	coal miner
14	11	M	coal miner
15	11	M	coal miner
16	12	M	cook
17	16	M	coal miner
18	14	M	coal miner
19	12	F	coal miner
20	11	M	coal miner
21	42	F	laborer
22	60	M	retired
23	58	F	babysitting
24	72	F	babysitting
25	29	F	-
26	19	F	student
27	27	F	-
28	42	F	cook/waitress
29	33	F	waitress
30	50	M	coal miner
31	67	M	retired
32	54	M	retired
33	30	F	purchasing agent
34	59	F	assembly work
35	22	F	furniture mover
36	27	F	truck driver
37	45	F	sawyer
38	80	F	-
39	29	F	social worker
40	39	F	-
41	14	M	-
42	14	M	farmer
43	17	M	grocery business
44	14	M	unemployed
45	16	M	farmer
46	15	M	federal gov't employee (retired)
47	7	M	farmer

Tape No.	Age	Sex	Occupation of Head of Household
48	9	M	factory worker
49	9	M	construction worker
50	10	M	farm tenant
51	10	M	farmer
52	8	M	farmer
53	17	M	county gov't employee
54	10	M	farmer
55	12	M	farmer
56	12	M	laborer
57	10	M	truck driver
58	11	M	laborer
59	9	M	factory worker
60	7	M	truck driver
61	14	F	coal miner
62	14	F	unemployed
63	14	F	unemployed
64	15	F	state employee
65	15	F	contractor
66	17	F	saw mill worker
67	16	F	construction worker
68	15	F	truck driver
69	6	F	school bus driver
70	13	F	farmer
71	11	F	housewife
72	7	F	laborer
73	8	F	painter
74	11	F	unemployed
75	10	F	construction worker
76	9	F	teacher aide
77	11	F	carpenter
78	7	F	factory worker
79	6	F	factory worker
80	9	F	constable
83	93	F	retired
84	group	M/F	-
85	78	F	-
86	10	F	factory worker
87	24	M	maintenance engineer
88	15	F	unemployed
96	77	M	farmer/miner (retired)
97	81	F	teacher (retired)
98	87	F	farmer (retired)
121	11	M	coal miner
122	13	M	coal miner
123	13	M	coal miner
124	11	M	coal miner
125	8	M	lawyer
126	8	F	laborer
127	8	F	-
128	17	F	retired
129	8	F	lumber company worker

Tape No.	Age	Sex	Occupation of Head of Household
130	10	F	laborer
131	10	F	laborer
132	11	F	unemployed
133	11	F	unemployed
134	11	F	unemployed
135	55	F	coal miner
136	11	F	truck driver
137	9	M	-
138	9	M	-
139	9	F	janitor
140	16	F	secretary
146	52	M	coil winder
147	13	F	coil winder
148	13	F	-
149	18	F	waitress
150	13	F	coal miner
151	18	F	machinist
152	64	F	retired
153	83	F	-
154	13	F	machinist
155	17	F	coal miner
156	20	F	welder
157	52	F	-
158	25	M	medical technician
159	20	M	grocery store employee
160	56	F	railroad worker
161	32	F	laborer
162	44	M	educational administration
163	60	M	-
164	33	M	custodian
165	57	M	educational administration

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